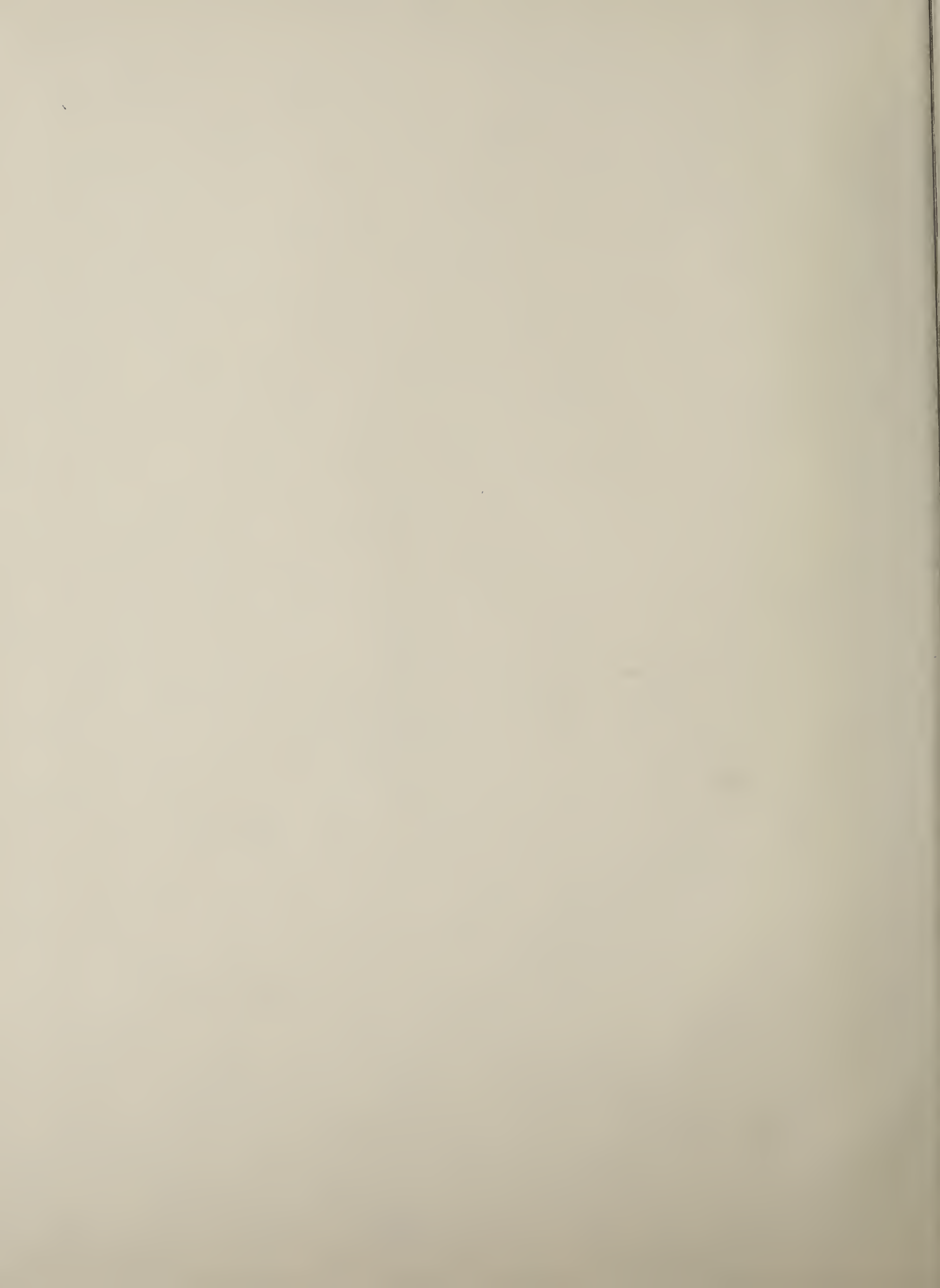


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THE BLIND AMERICAN

INKPRINT EDITION

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD FOR THE BLIND
A CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

2652 SHASTA ROAD BERKELEY 8, CALIF.

AUGUST ISSUE . . . 1961

BLIND AMERICAN INAUGURATES INKPRINT EDITION

With this issue The Blind American inaugurates its inkprint edition -- to be published monthly, with a duplicate table of contents, alongside the Braille edition.

The present issue embraces the contents of the first four months of the Braille Blind American -- covering the issues of May, June, July and August 1961. A few minor articles and news items originally appearing in those issues have been deleted.

In both inkprint and Braille, The Blind American is a publication of the American Brotherhood for the Blind, Inc. -- a non-profit, non-sectarian, educational and charitable foundation -- and is distributed free to the blind.

THE BLIND AMERICAN

May, June, July, August 1961

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May 1961

NEWEL PERRY, FAMED BLIND LEADER, MEMORIALIZED

Blind Americans mourned the passing early this year of Dr. Newel Perry, pioneer leader and educator of the sightless and long-time officer of the American Brotherhood for the Blind.

Dr. Perry, who died in Berkeley, California, in February at the age of 87, had served successively as member of the board of directors, vice-president, and president of the American Brotherhood during the decade ending in 1945, when he resigned from formal office to become legislative editor of the Brotherhood's All-Story Braille Magazine.

A teacher and director of advanced studies at the California School for the Blind in Berkeley for more than a third of a century, Dr. Perry was the founder and first president of the California Council for the Blind from 1934 to 1953.

His long and fruitful career of service to the blind was memorialized on March 25 at a special convocation held at the California School for the Blind and attended by 250 of his former students, colleagues and comrades-in-arms within the organized blind movement.

The principal address of the meeting, "Newel Perry: Teacher of Youth and Leader of Men," was delivered by Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the American Brotherhood for the Blind and the National Federation of the Blind. Dr. tenBroek, a former student and close associate of the late Dr. Perry, is a professor at the University of California and chairman of the California Board of Social Welfare.

The text of Dr. tenBroek's address honoring Newel Perry has since been reprinted in full in the Congressional Record of April 12, 1961, at the motion of Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan of California. It is set forth at the conclusion of this issue of The Blind American.

AROUND THE WORLD WITH "OSCAR"

By Dr. Isabelle L. D. Grant

Oscar is my white cane. My students honored him with that complimentary name when Oscars first came into being. My claims to

such a coveted award I never fully understood, but Oscar it was and has remained.

Oscar was my sole companion on my forty-thousand mile safari through 21 foreign countries over a period of 52 weeks. For me Oscar won friends and many acquaintances. As often as not, his function was misinterpreted; the behras or servants in the hostels did not stop to question. They grabbed him by the red tip and sallied forth along the uneven pavements to the rickshaw stand, with me hanging on to the leather thong, bringing up the rear, somewhat in the "Ride a cock horse to Banbury Cross" fashion. Others would, in true "gentilhomme" manner, carry the cane for me, using the cane to cleave their way through the crowd, as they dragged me, naughty-little-girl-wise, by the hand, I pulling backward in my restrained efforts to avoid collision with burkhas, babies, and hubble-bubble smokers along the footpath, alias sidewalk.

We scaled the storied ruins of the Acropolis together. We scuffed our way on huge carpet sandals over the parquet of the Blue Mosque in Istanbul. We painfully walked the cobbled holy ground of the Via Dolorosa, up the Hill of Golgotha every inch of the way hallowed indeed, but unhallowed by the thin little arms of the children, fastening on to my arm, underfed, refugee, and too many of them blind. "For of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" had a new if perplexing significance for me.

The blind throughout Egypt are legion. My Bedouin guide described the blind children as "poor, with sore eyes, too many flies on eyes." Trachoma takes its toll of these little ones, in a rich beautiful city, topped by its Citadel, flanked by the broad Nile, and cherishing an abundance of superbly ornate mosques. But the government of the United Arab Republic is awake to the problem of its blind population. Blind men and women are being trained in the vast rehabilitation center on the banks of the river--trained to return to their villages to help in the training of the other hundreds of thousands of blind, in the making of baskets, sandals, beds, and so on. A strange anomaly of encouragement and discouragement, pointing towards hope for the future. The University of Cairo has at least two outstanding blind professors on its faculty.

The sub-continent, stretching from the snowy heights of Everest and Kunchingunga south to Ceylon and the equator numbers between two and three million blind persons among its three hundred million people. Mendicancy, their recognized occupation from the religious and social standpoint, is the accepted order. Blind persons are defeated before they start. The few rehabilitation centers are totally inadequate.

Dehradun, near New Delhi, is good. The Phansa Project outside Bombay gives great promise of farm training, agriculture, and animal husbandry. The bicycle assembly plant in Madras had 20 blind workers --an excellent example, but little more than an oasis in a vast desert. The picture would be desolate, were it not that this mighty giant of India and the Far East is awakening, stirring--albeit somewhat ominously, for the shadow and fear of imperialism still overhang, and the spirit of self-determination is too new to be understood. The problem of the rehabilitation of the millions of blind persons does not loom too large or important in the face of famine, malnutrition and disease of the general population. The dawn, however, is breaking. Interest in blind welfare is slowly and surely growing. Willingness to experiment, and open-mindedness, are beginning to be evidenced. The young blind adult, the adolescent blind, and the blind children are the focus of interest. Not much can be done to improve the life of the older blind beggar. Resigned to receiving the largesse of his fellow men, his superiors because of their sight, he ekes out a bare subsistence for himself and his family. Hope for a new life, opportunity, work, acceptance, lies in the young blind. The governments are aware of this potential, but governments are slow to move. The way out to freedom, to equality, to opportunity is through education, and this fact they know.

The Malaya Federation of States is a bright spot where blind schools and rehabilitation centers are really functioning. The present enrollment is inadequate to meet the problem, but constructive efforts, planned programs, and trained leadership characterize the three blind schools and the two rehabilitation centers, all of them under whole or partial government supervision. The future holds in it the extension of both programs.

To by-pass the countries of Burma, Thailand, South Vietnam and the Philippines is admittedly unfair to these areas in which the odds are so much against a minority group such as the blind are, in spite of the noble but totally insufficient efforts in the field of rehabilitation and education. Where to begin is the one question. How much money the government can afford to spend on a program if any at all, is another; who is trained to conduct a suitable program, still another. In all fairness, be it said that all agree that the emancipation of blind persons from abject medievalism begins with the training and rehabilitation of the younger blind, and the education of blind children. To this end they are shaping their plans. We can help.

Rich, fertile, sparsely populated Australia and New Zealand have fascinating, well-developed programs for their comparatively few blind persons--about five thousand in all. The style is, of course,

European. Organizations and agencies for the blind run parallel to but seem to outrun the organizations of the blind. The majority of children are in residential schools. Young blind persons are in workshops, sheltered centers doing subcontract work. Few are in open competitive industry. Physiotherapy is a coveted profession, for it necessitates residence in England and appropriate study there as a requirement for practice of the profession. By and large, the situation would be one of complete comfort, security, and of well-being were it not for the evidence of a growing desire, even urge, for more independence, for less complacency and more challenge, among the younger blind, many of whom have visited the United States and viewed the purposes, goals and activities of organizations of the blind.

By the time Fiji was reached, Oscar and partner were showing signs of fatigue, indifference to any more new experiences, and victims of a well-nigh depleted pocketbook. The luxury of Waikiki remained a dream--a dream quickly dispelled when contact was made with the blind folks in Oahu, building their successful vending stand businesses in the Post Office, at the airport, in the Judiciary Building, attending their meetings, participating in their discussions regarding welfare, placement, and coming legislation, to hear murmurs of affiliation with Federation, and finally to see both goals come all but accomplished--Statehood, and Federation affiliation.

Oscar, when do we go again?

NEW FRONTIERS IN THE CLASSROOM

By Dr. Isabelle L. D. Grant

Mr. P. was appointed to the position of resource teacher for blind children in the public school. The appointment was confirmed by

long distance telephone. "You'd better call back and tell them you are blind," suggested his wife. "It never occurred to me," said he, "but perhaps I'd better." The answer came from the school authorities, "Yes, it might make a difference. You will be notified in due time." The following day brought the news. "If we on the Board see fit to educate our blind children with faith in their potential and in their future, we have faith in you as a teacher. We employ you on your merits as a teacher, blind or sighted."

Miss G. was interviewed by the personnel director of a large metropolitan school district. She held an A.B. degree, and a well-recommended teaching credential from the state, with marks of "Very promising" in her recently completed practice teaching. The state had some years previously withdrawn its visual acuity requirement for the teaching credential, but the local district doggedly maintained its stereotyped assumption of correlation between teaching ability and visual acuity. Miss G.'s application was turned down. (The California Administrative Code, item 12104 states: "No person otherwise qualified shall be denied the right to receive credentials from the State Board of Education on the ground he is totally or partially blind.")

Miss W., blinded at age forty-five, frequently referred to as a "master teacher" in her subject, now well-oriented in mobility, efficient in tactual reading and writing after a brief period in an orientation center for the blind, now wonders why a personnel division could have been so shortsighted in urging her resignation, when successful, experienced teachers are at a premium, and recruitment slow.

But fortunately for education and for society, all the blinded teachers have not been relegated to the human scrap-heap as happened to Miss W. Some personnel boards and hiring agencies have asked for "good teachers," not for "20-40 in the better eye after correction," as a condition for employment. They have asked for ability to teach, adequate preparation, understanding and love of children, and "personality." These criteria do not remain the monopoly of the sighted. In fact, the goodly number of blind teachers employed in the public schools throughout the country--25 of them at present in California--through their superior effort, desire to "make good," willingness to go the extra mile in line of duty, and dedication to the job, are making a real contribution to the program of general education.

Indeed, signs are evident of a unique contribution to the field through the particular adaptations of the blind person to his own living, made necessary by his own blindness. A concept of classroom discipline makes of the teacher not a policeman but a counselor, a friend

who can be severe when necessary, in the interests of the pupil--a concept which puts the responsibility of behavior on the pupil as a member of his own team. The blind geometry teacher is no "this and that" teacher in his board work. Identities are specifically stated, not pointed at. Arithmetic ceases to be a paper-and-pencil discipline; percentages are much more fun when worked out "mentally." It is also interesting to know that reading need not be always visual; it can also be aural and tactual.

Sharing a firm conviction that good teaching is measured by ability to teach and not by visual acuity, two California teachers last December co-sponsored a conference on "Exchange of Ideas and Devices for Blind Teachers" at the Grant Elementary School, San Lorenzo School District, San Lorenzo, California. Miss Onvia Ticer, a highly successful fourth grade teacher in the Grant School, carries on her work with her sighted class of some 35 children. For the last 12 years the other conference sponsor, Dr. Isabelle Grant, has been a resource teacher for blind children at the junior and senior high school levels in the city schools of Los Angeles.

Fifteen blind teachers employed throughout the state, and 15 blind teachers-in-training, together with a group of observers, participated in the conference with the counsel and assistance of Dr. Charles Lee, Assistant Superintendent of the San Lorenzo School District, and Mr. Omer Weston, Principal of the Grant Elementary School in San Lorenzo.

Miss Ticer led the discussion of the morning session's topic, "The Blind Teacher with the Sighted Class." Since many of the participants had themselves been sighted during the previous part of their career, the consensus of the group was that there was an essential similarity in procedures. Classroom management was analyzed, and where necessary adaptations were suggested. Pupil discipline was interpreted as "discipline from within"--self-discipline--with a team approach involving pupil, teacher, peers, and parents, as the situation demanded--the pupil being held responsible for his cooperation with the group. Careful planning of all activities was the key to the smooth running of the classroom, and to the progress of the pupil. Clerical duties involving attendance, records, grading, report cards, home and office notes offered no problem. Chalk-board demonstrations demonstrated the use of some simple but ingenious devices, as did the giving of tests, both subject and standardized types. Playground activities were shown to call for detailed planning, variety of activities, and above all, an ability to identify in each child his abilities, attitudes, nature and disposition. In short, it was emphasized

that the elements of good teaching are the same for the blind teacher as for the sighted one.

The topic of the afternoon discussion session, led by Dr. Grant, was "The Blind Teacher in the Resource Room." In order to qualify for a position as a resource teacher in California, it was pointed out, the instructor must have a special credential for the teaching of the visually handicapped, over and above his regular teaching credential. In the integrated program of education for blind children in the public schools, the resource teacher assists, teaches and counsels the blind pupil as the pupil takes his place in the regular classroom in open competition with his sighted peers. Ideas and devices in classroom management, clerical work obligations, discipline, and general procedures were said to be the same as in the regular classroom. Detection of mannerisms was discussed, as were mobility and orientation (though it was emphasized that the conference was not intended to be one on "Methods" which belong in teacher training.) The distinctive contribution of the blind resource teacher in his particular situation with blind children, by his example and precept--as well as by his personal experience and knowledge of the social, psychological, vocational and educational implications of blindness--received the attention of the group. Teacher competence of the highest order was the desired standard.

Present hesitancy on the part of personnel directors in teacher placement stemmed, in the opinion of the conference group, from unwillingness to break with tradition and to consider the problem of placement of blind teachers on its merits. Some administrators, it was thought, feared a liability involvement in case of accident, a consideration which offered little justification in face of the fact that the blindness of the teacher and not negligence would have to be proved to be contributory to the accident.

A list of recommendations was drawn up for further study, among which are the following:

1. That boards of education or personnel directors be encouraged to continue in service, following a period of rehabilitation and orientation, those teachers who have lost their sight.
2. That boards of education and personnel directors be encouraged to hire duly qualified blind teachers, and be urged also to observe these young teachers particularly in practice teaching.
3. That research be conducted on possible legal problems in the employment of blind teachers.

BROTHERS... & OTHERS

The Blind Professional Association of America, Inc., was declared dissolved early this year following a poll of its members which offered the alternatives of disbandment or merger of the group with the National Federation of the Blind.

In an announcement dated February 5, Blind Professionals' President Carl Weiss revealed that of 25 respondents to the poll 13 had favored dissolution while 11 voted for integration with the N. F. B. He stated that funds remaining in the Association's treasury would be donated to Recordings for the Blind, Inc., of New York City.

* * * * *

New Threat to Vending Stands: Under the headline, "GSA Ruling Hits Blind Vendor," the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin recently gave prominent attention to the asserted policy of the General Services Administration in favor of removing blind-operated vending stands from the lobbies of federal buildings and confining them to rooms away from the public view. The newspaper account declared in part:

"Uncle Sam can do the darndest things!

"Like putting a small businessman right smack dab in the middle of a recession he wasn't in.

"Lon Sumner, 32, blind since birth, has operated the vending stand in the San Francisco Post Office, 7th and Mission Sts., for nearly four years.

"But the General Services Administration has caused a drop in Lon's business of 27 pct., as compared with an identical period last year....

" 'His stand looked like hell in the corridor,' explained Ray M. McNairy, chief of the Government's Building Management Division here.

" 'And it's also a policy of GSA... has been for years... to get stands, some of which are unsightly and a mess, out of corridors of public buildings and into rooms....'

"Lon's is about the last stand of the blind vendors, who operate under the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, to get moved out of a Federal building corridor. Practically all are in rooms throughout the city's government buildings...."

* * * * *

Dr. T. Munford Boyd, member of the board of directors of the National Federation of the Blind and member-at-large of the Virginia Federation of the Blind, has obtained a leave of absence from

his law professorship at the University of Virginia in order to run as a Democratic candidate for the office of Attorney General of Virginia, according to the "V. F. B. Newsletter" (published by the Virginia Federation). Dr. Boyd is no newcomer to politics; during World War II, he served in Washington on the legal staffs of the National Defense Advisory Committee, the Industrial Materials Division, the Office of Production Management and the War Production Board.

* * * * *

Politics at the Grass Roots: A true story with a very important (and practical) moral was related recently in a letter to Dr. Jacobus tenBroek from William S. Dwyer, head of New York's Tri-City Council of the Blind (an affiliate of the Empire State Association of the Blind and the National Federation of the Blind). Here are excerpts:

"A lifelong friend of mine faced the prospect of being removed from his job on the New York Thruway. Jim Stephens worked for five years in the machine room of the Thruway Authority. Most of his time was spent operating an electronic computer. They were cutting back on the help, and two fellows with one year's service apiece had seniority on Jim because they are both veterans. Jim is a member of our chapter and being totally blind would have found it difficult if not impossible to transfer to another job if he was removed from his present one. . . .

"Being a resident of Rensselaer County, I induced our local Senator Berkowitz, who is chairman of the Civil Service Committee, to introduce our bill in the State Senate. Douglas Hudson, Assemblyman from Rensselaer County, introduced the bill in the Assembly."

The bill provides: "In Civil Service, any suspension or demotion shall be made in the following order: 1) non-veterans; 2) non-disabled veterans; 3) disabled veterans and blind non-veterans; and any such suspension or demotion shall, in each such category, be made in the inverse order of the date of original appointment in the service."

"After the bills were introduced, I circulated throughout the state copies of a circular entitled, 'We Need Your Help' (I stole that from J. F. K.). We bombarded the two houses until they passed it. Then we did the same with a similar circular to get the governor to sign it, which he did. This is now Chapter 532, Laws of New York State. . . . It is going to be a definite benefit to three fellows holding

civil service jobs in this area.

"Without the National Federation of the Blind not one of us would have even guessed that we could fight for our rights or cause the law to be changed when it conflicted with our rights of self-sustenance."

* * * * *

The Iowa Association of the Blind will hold its annual state convention in Vinton from June 2 to June 4, according to word from President William Klontz. Featured speakers will include Kenneth Jernigan, director of the Iowa Commission for the Blind, and John Nagle, Washington office chief of the National Federation of the Blind.

* * * * *

The Blind Child: Some notable additions have recently been made to the growing literature of professional and scientific information on the needs of blind children. "A Guide for Parents of a Pre-School Blind Child," an illustrated brochure, complete with bibliography and references, is available from the New York State Department of Social Welfare, State Commission for the Blind, 270 Broadway, New York 7, New York.... Also from New York is The Challenge of Educating the Blind Children in the Regular Classroom, an illustrated booklet describing in detail the operation and values of the integrated school program, published by the New York State Department of Education, Bureau for Handicapped Children....

The University of Kansas' Bureau of Child Research has prepared Our Visually Handicapped Children, a pamphlet concerned with both blind and partially sighted children and dealing, among other things, with the issue of residential and integrated school programs.... "The Development Needs of Blind Children," by Jeanne R. Kenmore, appeared in the December 1960 issue of Exceptional Children.... Special Education of Physically Handicapped Children in Western Europe, by Wallace and Isabelle Taylor, is a comprehensive study of pertinent education programs in 21 European countries; published by The International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, New York, 1960.

* * * * *

Joseph C. Cobb, president of the Maine Council of the Blind, died on February 22 at his home in Augusta, Maine. His death was

the second blow suffered by the organized blind of Maine, who had lost their founder and president, Frank Baker, less than a year before. The new president of the Council is C. R. Gardiner of Waterville, who was formerly vice-president and delegate to the 1960 convention of the National Federation of the Blind.

* * * * *

Franklin DeRosa, member of the Rhode Island Federation of the Blind, died at his home in Warwick, Rhode Island on March 31 at the age of 34. Both he and his wife, Margaret, also blind, were graduates of the Brooklyn Lighthouse Institute.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Isabelle L. D. Grant, a double contributor to our present publication ("Around the World with 'Oscar'" and "New Frontiers in the Classroom"), is a veteran teacher and administrator in the Los Angeles public school system. Formerly a vice-principal, Dr. Grant became a teacher of integrated classes after losing her sight. On sabbatical leave in 1959, she embarked upon a year-long globe-circling tour accompanied only by her faithful companion, "Oscar" (see within). Dr. Grant is a member of the board of directors of the American Brotherhood for the Blind and also a member of the board of the National Federation of the Blind.

Dr. Jacobus tenBroek is the president of the National Federation of the Blind as well as the president of the American Brotherhood for the Blind. He has served since 1950 as a member of the California State Board of Social Welfare and became its chairman last year. Professor tenBroek is also chairman of his department at the University of California, Berkeley, and has authored numerous books and monographs in the fields of public welfare and constitutional law.

(Not printed at Government expense)



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Newel Perry: Teacher of Youth and Leader of Men— Speech in Honor of Blind Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 12, 1961

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, on February 10, 1961, Dr. Newel Perry died in Berkeley, Calif., at the age of 87. He was thus full of years, and his years were full of accomplishment.

During most of his long life Dr. Perry lived and carried on his work in Berkeley. His career was that of a pioneer in the fields of public welfare and education of the blind. He was founder and first president of the California Council for the Blind. He was for 35 years director of advanced studies at the California School for the Blind in Berkeley. It was through his inspiration and leadership that the blind people of my State came to be welded into an organized democratic movement to improve their status and condition.

On March 25, 1961, a memorial convocation was held at the School for the Blind in Berkeley in honor of Dr. Perry. The main address was delivered by another noted Berkeleyan and leader of the blind, Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the National Federation of the Blind, chairman of the California Board of Social Welfare, and chairman of the Speech Department of the University of California. I believe that Dr. tenBroek's moving address deserves the attention of Members of Congress and of all citizens concerned with welfare and the public good.

The article follows:

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NEWEL PERRY: TEACHER OF YOUTH AND
LEADER OF MEN

(Address by Prof. Jacobus tenBroek at a Memorial Convocation for Dr. Newel Perry at the California School for the Blind, Berkeley, March 25, 1961)

I come before you today—indeed we are all gathered here—to discharge a public duty and to honor a private debt. Newel Perry was a public figure. To us, he was also a personal friend. We can appraise his public contribution. We can only acknowledge our private obligation and personal attachment. We can detail his public record, define his influential role, itemize his accomplishments, recount his deeds, enumerate his statutes, specify his doctrines, disentangle the elements of his social philosophy, identify the general and the institutional fruits of his life's work, analyze and psychoanalyze the personality traits that made him a leader. Upon the life we shared, we can only dwell in memory, sifting through the loose meshes of the mind the hours, the days, the nights, the months, the years of our common experience; the fears, the travails, the aspirations, the laughter that were ours together.

We were his students, his family, his intimates, his comrades on a thousand battlefronts of a social movement. We slept in his house, ate at his table, learned geometry at his desk, walked the streets interminably by his side, moved forward on the strength of his optimism and confidence.

The boundless devotion to him of his wife Lillie (to whom he was married from 1912 until her death in 1935) spilled over onto us to balm our institution-starved spirits, to lighten with gentle affection the bewilderment of our eccentricity and the unnatural confinement of our segregation. Upon a later generation of us, after the death of Lillie the same bounty was conferred in her turn by his sister Emma Burnham, who lived with Doctor during the last 21 years of his life.

As a forward youngster of 12, who made so bold as to address him as "Doc," I was once thrown out of a class by Doctor with such a lecture as still rings in my ears. As a somewhat older youngster, still forward but now also bored by the slow pace and the unimaginative techniques of high school, I was expelled by him altogether for incorrigible recalcitrance. Eventually, despite these unpromising beginnings, I did graduate from high school. With plenty of ambition but no money, I prepared to enter the university. At that point I was denied State aid to the blind, a program then newly instituted as a result of Doctor's efforts in sponsoring a constitutional amendment and a comprehensive statute. The reason was not that my need was not great. It was that I intended to pursue a higher education while I was being supported by the State. That was too much for the administrative officials. Almost without discussion, Doctor immediately filled the gap. Just as Warring Wilkinson had earlier done for him, he supplied me with tuition and living expenses out of his own pocket for a semester while we all fought to reverse the decision of the State aid officials.

It was ever thus with Doctor. The key to his great influence with blind students was, first of all, the fact that he was blind and therefore understood their problems; and second, that he believed in them and made his faith manifest. He provided the only sure foundation of true rapport: knowledge on our part that he was genuinely interested in our welfare.

Aside from these immediate personal benefactions, there were three habits of life—one might almost say three elements of personality—which I formed out of his teaching and example when I was an adolescent in his charge. First, an attitude toward my blindness, a conception that it is basically unimportant in the important affairs of life. A physical nuisance, yes. A topic of unembarrassed conversation, a subject of loud

questions by small children in the street as you pass, certainly. But not something which shapes one's nature, which determines his career, which affects his usefulness or happiness. Second, a basic assumption that sighted people generally have boundless good will toward the blind and an utterly false conception of the consequences of blindness. It is their misconception about its nature which creates the social and economic handicap of blindness. Third: public activity as a rule of life, a sense of responsibility to exert personal effort to improve the lot of others. While I was still a lad in my teens, I was attending meetings and doing work that Doctor assigned me in the blind movement. He was a social reformer. He made me one, too. Through participation with him, these attitudes and practices became habits of my life. So deeply instilled were they that they have remained ever after an almost automatic behavioral pattern—potent and often governing factors in my outlook and activity. Mature reflection in later years could only confirm through reason what his influence had so surely wrought in my youth.

It is altogether fitting that we should hold this memorial convocation at the California School for the Blind. It was here that Newel Perry came in 1883 as a 10-year-old boy—penniless, blind, his father dead, his home dissolved. Two years earlier, he had lost his sight and nearly his life as the result of a case of poison oak which caused his eyeballs to swell until they burst and which held him in a coma for a month. It was here at the school that Warring Wilkinson first met and took an interest in him, laying the basis for future years of intimate relationship and mutual endeavor. Warring Wilkinson was the first principal of the California State School for the Deaf and the Blind. He served in that capacity for 44 years, from 1865 to 1909. With his characteristic interest in his charges, he soon saw young Newel's full potentiality. He sent him from here to Berkeley High School to complete his secondary education. It was he who overcame the numerous obstacles to this arrangement, so fruitful in its understanding of education and of the needs of the blind. Newel continued to live here at the school while he attended the University of California from 1892 to 1896. Again admission had to be secured over strong resistance. Again Wilkinson was the pathfinder; Newel his willing and anxious instrument. Wilkinson's role in Newel's life as a youth can hardly be overestimated: father, teacher, guide, supporter—in Newel's own words, "dear Governor."

As this institution was not only the school but the home of his boyhood and the foundation of his manhood, so 16 years later, in 1912, at the age of 39, Newel Perry returned here to take up his permanent career as a teacher. He remained in that post until 1947—a third of a century. It was here that his life's work was accomplished. It was

from this place as a base that he organized and conducted a movement for social reform. It was here that many of us first met him as his students. It was here that his impact upon us first made itself felt. It was here that our lifelong association with him began. How often in these halls have we heard his footsteps? How often in this chamber, his voice? The sound of those footsteps and that voice have now gone from the world as a physical reality. How often hereafter will they continue to sound in the halls and chambers of our lives?

In the years between departure from the school in 1896 and return to it in 1912, Newel Perry devoted himself to further education and to the search for an academic job. He took graduate work at the University of California, meanwhile serving successively as an unpaid teaching fellow, a paid assistant and finally as an instructor in the department of mathematics. In 1900, following a general custom of that day, he went to Europe to continue his studies. He did this for a time at the University of Zurich in Switzerland and then at the University of Munich in Germany. From the latter he secured the degree of doctor of philosophy in mathematics with highest honors in 1901. He lingered in Europe for a time traveling and writing an article on a mathematical topic which was published in a learned journal. He then returned to the United States in 1902, landing in New York where he was to remain until 1912. He had about \$80 in capital, a first-class and highly specialized education, and all the physical, mental, and personal prerequisites for a productive career, save one, visual acuity.

During this period, he supported himself precariously as a private coach of university mathematics students. He applied himself, also, to the search for a university position. He had begun the process by mail from Europe even before he secured his Ph. D. He now continued the process on the ground in New York. He displayed the most relentless energy. He employed every imaginable technique. He wrote letters in profusion. In 1905, he wrote to 500 institutions of every size and character. He distributed his dissertation and published article. He haunted meetings of mathematicians. He visited his friends in the profession. He enlisted the aid of his teachers. He called on everybody and anybody having the remotest connection with his goal.

Everywhere, the outcome was the same. Only the form varied. Some expressed astonishment at what he had accomplished. Some expressed interest. One of these seemed genuine—he had a blind brother-in-law who, he said, was a whiz at math. Some showed indifference, now and then masked behind polite phrases. Some said there were no vacancies. Some said his application would be filed for future reference. One said for what—ironically, "as an encouragement to men who labor under disadvantages and who may learn from it how

much may be accomplished through resolution and industry." Some averred that he probably could succeed in teaching at somebody else's college. Many said outright that they believed a blind man could not teach mathematics.

Many of these rejections were, of course, perfectly proper. Many were not. Their authors candidly gave the reason as blindness.

We know about this period of Newel Perry's life from reports of contemporaries or near contemporaries such as Hugh Buckingham, a student at the school from 1896 to 1900 during Doctor's absence, who has prepared a manuscript about Doctor's boyhood and youth. We know about it from what Doctor told many of us in later years. But we know about it in all its poignancy, desolation and bleakness, from Newel Perry's own intimate accounts written at the time to his old mentor and true friend, Warring Wilkinson. These accounts, with copies of many of the letters of rejection, have been preserved by the Wilkinson family through the intervening years. In the last 2 weeks, they have been opened to my inspection by Wilkinson's granddaughter, Florence Richardson Wyckoff, who is here with us today.

I have dwelt on this period and these experiences for several reasons. They reflect, they accurately portray, a phase of all of our lives as blind people. In fact, 35 years later, I personally received identical letters from many of these same institutions. It was almost as if a secretary had been set to copying Doctor's file, only changing the signatures and the name of the addressee. Yet great progress has been made. Many of us are now teaching at colleges and universities around the country and filling many other jobs hitherto closed to us.

Doctor Perry's reaction to this decade of defeat and privation was remarkable. He did not break. He did not resign. He did not even become embittered. Discouragement, frustration, a sense of wrong and injustice, certainly these; but never collapse. He was not licked. We see in these bitter years of hunger and rejection the source of true knowledge about the real problems of the blind and an ineradicable determination to do something about them. Here was a mainspring of social reform, an ever-flowing motivation to redirect public attitudes and actions toward the blind. To this was added the thrust of an active and restless disposition and the wit to perceive remedies and adapt them to the need.

Out of these elements of mind, personality, and experience were compounded the public career of Newel Perry; and out of these elements also were constructed the programs the initiation of which made that career publicly significant.

First of all, the distress of poverty must be relieved. The necessities of life must be available. The minimum essentials must be assured. So much in some way had been provided in the Anglo-American system for

three centuries before Newel Perry faced near starvation and economic exclusion in New York City. The Elizabethan poor laws did it in one way. County direct relief, instituted in California in 1901, did it in another. The almshouse and the county hospital and poorfarm did it in still other ways. At the very minimum, it had to be done better. It should be done by a system of cash grants, adequate in amount to maintain standards of decency and health, receivable upon fixed and uniform standards of eligibility, made generally applicable by State participation and control, and expendable by the recipient through a free exercise of self-management and consumption choice. To bring this about, however, prohibitions in the State constitution would have to be removed by the arduous process of a people's amendment, an organic statute would have to be lobbied through the State legislature, faithful administration would somehow have to be secured. Year by year and session by session into the indefinite future, the myriad minor corrections and major improvements made necessary by time and disclosed by experience would have to be worked through the legislature and the administration. And so indeed it came to pass in California.

Secondly, much more had to be done than merely relieve the distress of poverty. Security is a necessity. As an unmixed blessing, however, it is a stultifying concept. An indispensable ingredient of any welfare system is opportunity. One of the objects of public aid must be to stimulate and enable people to become independent of it. Accordingly, their initiative must not be hemmed in. The means of productive activity must not be withdrawn or denied. Independence of action and self-reliance must be encouraged. Legal liability of relatives must be relaxed so as not to spread poverty, increase dependence and disrupt family life. Economic resources, reasonable amounts of real and personal property must be devotable to plans for self-support instead of being required to be consumed in meeting daily needs. Incentive to earn must be constructed out of retention of the benefits of earning. And this too presently came to pass in California. The new system took cognizance of the need of the blind for adjustments on the social and psychological as well as the physical level. It permitted and encouraged them to strive to render themselves self-supporting. It applied the democratic principle of individual dignity to an underprivileged class of American citizens. It guaranteed them a fair measure of independence and self-respect in the conduct of their lives. The California system, the Newel Perry system, was thus far in advance of its time. It is still envied and emulated throughout the Nation.

Thirdly, the reintegration of the blind into society on a basis of full and equal membership could only be achieved if they had a chance to earn their daily bread as others do

in the community. Accordingly, action must be taken to eliminate restrictive barriers and legal discriminations. The main channels of opportunity must be swept clear of artificial and irrational obstructions. The public service, private employment, the common callings, the ordinary trades and occupations, the professions must be rescued from arbitrary exclusions based on blindness when blindness is not a factor bearing on competence and performance. Doctor was a prime mover in securing legal, constitutional and other provisions which protect the right of the blind to enter a number of professions; forbid arbitrary discriminations against us in the State civil service and in secondary teaching; enable blind college students to pursue their studies with the aid of sighted readers hired by the State; bring the blind in an ever-increasing stream into the colleges and universities of the State and thence into the higher callings.

These achievements—legal, social, economic and political—have been the fruits at once of Dr. Perry's leadership and of the collective self-organization of the blind which that leadership engendered. More than any other person, it was Doctor who implanted and nurtured among the blind of California the sense of common cause, the spirit of collaborative effort in seeking solutions to our problems. More than any other person, it was he who taught us that the blind can and must lead the blind and the sighted, too, when dealing with the problems of the blind. More than any other person, it was he who made us aware that to go on unorganized was to remain disorganized, that only through concerted action can the blind hope to convert and enlist the power of government and to defeat the thoughtless tyranny of public prejudice and opportune ignorance.

Newel Perry was a teacher: a teacher of subject matter and a teacher of men. He taught his specialty of mathematics and taught it very well indeed; but he taught his pupils even better. To be sure, not all the students who came his way during his 35 years on this campus were wholly inspired by him. His personality was vigorous and his standards rigorous. But for many of us who attended the school during those three and one-half decades it was Dr. Perry who furnished the impetus and incentive, the goad and the goal, that would light our later lives and nourish our careers. Our bond with him was not broken when our school-days ended. We went on to become his comrades and colleagues in the cause which was always his true vocation.

Newel Perry was, in short, both a teacher of youth and a leader of men. These two roles were not, however, quite separate. For the secret of his success in both of them lay in this: that his teaching was a kind of leadership, and his leadership a kind of teaching. In his pedagogical method as well as his social purpose Doctor was thoroughly Socratic. His classroom manner was es-

entially that of the platonic dialogue: dialectical, inquiring, insistently logical, and incessantly prodding.

In this Socratic combination also lies, I think, the secret of Doctor's success as the leader of a social movement. Just as in the classroom he taught his students by leading them, so as the pioneer of the organized blind movement he led his followers by teaching them. His power, like that of all leaders, rested in the last analysis upon persuasion. His triumphs, however, were not the product of oratorical or literary skill, although he had a notable gift for trenchant and incisive phrasing, the epigrammatic thrust which distills the essence of a complex issue. His persuasive power was not that of the demagog but of the pedagogue. And it was not only his followers who learned from him. He educated the blind people of the State to an awareness of their capabilities as individuals and of their powers as a group. He educated the legislators in the State capitol by dint of dogged, relentless, well-nigh incorrigible campaigns of persuasion carried on year after year and decade after decade. He educated the general public by his preaching and his example to regard the blind not in the traditional terms of charity and custody but in the realistic terms of normality and equality.

And most of all, in his role as leader, Newel Perry educated, indoctrinated, and persuaded a distinguished group of cohorts to join him in carrying on the struggle and carrying out its goals. Those whom Doctor gathered around him were other blind men and women, mostly former students, whose special talents and professional positions uniquely supplemented his.

Raymond Henderson: By profession an attorney, self-taught, by preoccupation a reformer, with poetry in his soul and literature in his stylus. Born in 1881, he attended this school from 1889 through high school and continued to live here until his graduation from the University of California in 1904. He practiced his profession in Bakersfield, Calif., from his admission to the bar until his death in 1945. Raymond came to the organized blind movement in his maturity from a long background of experience in other causes. He brought to it a notable array of personal abilities, a high degree of professional skill, a fine spirit of humanity, and the enrichment of wide and intensive activity.

Leslie Schlingheyde: also by profession an attorney, gentle and religious by disposition, practical rather than reflective in frame of mind, with a brilliant academic record and a liberal outlook. He was born in 1893, attended this school from 1906 to 1913, and thus came under Doctor's influence in the year of his graduation. He received a J.D. from the law school of the University of California in 1920 and from that time until his death in 1957 practiced his profession in Modesto, Calif., and served the blind movement all over the State.

It was Raymond Henderson and Leslie Schlingheyde who were primarily responsible for handling cases in court, for preparing innumerable legal briefs and arguments, for drafting projected bills and constitutional amendments, for continuous legal counsel during the insurgent and formative years. They were in a real sense the legal arm of the organized blind movement.

Ernest Crowley: again by profession an attorney but distinguished for his service in another arena. He kept a law office open in Fairfield-Suisun from the time of his graduation from the University of California Law School in 1923 until his death in 1952. To him, however, the law was only a necessary and not a particularly attractive means of earning a living. His law office was a cover for his real love and active life—the practice of politics. He was born in 1896 and attended this school from 1910 to 1916. He was thus under Doctor's tutelage as a student for 4 years. His significant contribution was made as a member of the State legislature from 1928 to 1952. It was he who introduced and skillfully maneuvered through to passage the memorable bills which are now the statutory landmarks of our movement. In a very real sense, he was the legislative spokesman and arm of the movement.

Perry Sundquist: social worker and public administrator by profession, bringing to his work a sympathetic personality, an unshakable faith in blind people and skillful management of administrative techniques

and devices. He was born in 1904 and attended this school from 1918 to 1922. For exactly 20 years now he has been chief of the division for the blind in the State department of social welfare. During those two decades he has translated the principles of the organized blind movement into concrete administrative action, from legislative parchment into practical reality. Under his direction programs for the blind have multiplied and prospered, services have been expanded and their benefits spread. Most important of all, the working philosophy of the movement has been transformed into a working practice. In a very real sense, he has been the effective administrative arm of the movement.

Through the years this little band grew in numbers and evolved in formal structure. It formed the nucleus of the California Council for the Blind, which came into being in 1934 with Doctor Perry as its first president. For 19 productive years, until his retirement in 1953 at the age of 80, Doctor forged and shaped the council on the anvil of his own will into an instrument larger and more formidable but essentially similar to the informal group from which it originated.

Doctor's social vision in the field of blind welfare outdistanced his time and placed him in the advance guard of thought and planning. His liberality on these matters gains, rather than loses, in significance when it is placed alongside his broader attitudes toward politics and human affairs; for in matters unrelated to the blind, Doctor was

fully an heir of the 19th century, conservative, even reactionary, by nature, often inflexible and not without a touch of old-fashioned nationalist-imperialism. When it came to the cause to which he was most committed, he was far less a victorian than a utopian; less a standpatter than a restless progressive in search of new horizons.

How shall we sum up a man's life? How capture the essential quality of a human career? How convey the inward meaning, the imponderable and intangible qualities of will and heart and spirit? There are the vital statistics. But they are more statistical than vital. All that they can tell us of a man is that he was born, he lived, he loved, he died. For Newel Perry we must amend the litany at least this much: he lived, and he brought new life to many; he loved, and he was beloved; he died, and he will not be forgotten.

On the day following the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Walter Lippmann wrote some words about him which might also stand as an epitaph to the leader and comrade whom we honor today: "The man must die in his appointed time. He must carry away with him the magic of his presence and that personal mastery of affairs which no man, however gifted by nature, can acquire except in the relentless struggle with evil and blind chance. Then comes the proof of whether his work will endure, and the test of how well he led his people. * * * The final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on."

JUNE 1961

NEVADA BLIND-AID PROGRAM REMAINS INTACT

by Floyd W. Matson

The public welfare programs of Nevada, long recognized as among the best-conceived and best-administered in the nation, have survived a series of critical attacks aimed at removing the state welfare director and drastically curtailing the scope and effectiveness of services to the blind.

Largely as a result of alert action by the Nevada Federation of the Blind and the National Federation of the Blind, the long-sustained threats to the state's existing welfare programs were completely smothered in the 1961 session of the state legislature.

Despite earlier predictions not one bill altering or curtailing services to the blind was introduced in either legislative chamber--while all budget recommendations of the Bureau of Services to the Blind were unanimously adopted in the Senate and House. Moreover, both the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee issued firm expressions of confidence regarding the welfare programs and their administration.

At the same time, efforts to remove Mrs. Barbara Coughlan from her position as state welfare director were effectively turned back by a June ruling of the state's attorney general holding legislation for this purpose to be invalid on constitutional and other grounds.

The threats to Nevada's blind-aid services took shape late last fall through publication of a study by the Legislative Counsel Bureau which attacked existing services to the blind and recommended their absorption within a general agency for the handicapped. The bureau report also challenged the qualifications of the state welfare director and called for her removal.

Shortly after the release of this attack the organized blind of the state, acting through the Nevada Federation as well as the National Federation of the Blind, prepared and distributed a detailed analysis and criticism of the bureau's report, which declared in part:

"We, the blind men and women of Nevada, hope the Report and recommendations of the Legislative Counsel Bureau regarding the blind programs will be rejected. We want to keep our programs and improve them--not undermine and destroy them..."

"The Bureau proposes changes which would seriously undermine the existing programs and hinder their future development along sound lines. The Report is founded upon an inadequate evaluation. It contains many errors of fact. Its legal interpretations are strained and faulty. Above all, it is based upon a lack of understanding of the needs and problems of the blind."

During December, Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the NFB, together with leaders of the Nevada Federation, broadly publicized the views of the organized blind at a Reno news conference and on statewide television as well as through regular press channels. Following the opening of the 1961 legislative session a substantial delegation of Nevada Federationists appeared at the state capitol to press their case directly.

Although this quick and concerted action of the state and national blind groups succeeded in forestalling any legislation aimed at the reduction of blind-aid programs, a bill was introduced and passed by both houses to remove the position of state welfare director from the personnel code and make it directly appointive by the governor. The measure if put into effect would have vacated on July 1 the office which has been held by Mrs. Coughlan since 1949.

The subsequent opinion of the state attorney general, requested by Governor Grant Sawyer following his signing of the bill, advised that the act could not be enforced "with retrospective effect to divest and deprive the incumbent Director of the State Welfare Department of the status and right to tenure possessed by her equally and to the same extent as all other State employees in the classified service, under applicable provisions of the Personnel Act. Any such retrospective application would be violative of 'due process' requirements under both United States and Nevada Constitution.

"It is, therefore, our considered opinion that the Act does not automatically and legally create any vacancy in the position of Director...nor is said Act effective, in any manner whatsoever, legally to 'impair' and 'diminish' such status and rights which the incumbent in said position possesses."

The attorney general's opinion also called attention to "the serious policy considerations involved in any 'whittling away' of the State's merit system, even on the part of the Legislature itself, by such means as that provided" in the newly enacted measure.

As a consequence of this vigorous opinion of the attorney general, Governor Sawyer has since indicated that he intends taking no further action with regard to the welfare directorship.

Thus the blind people of Nevada and their representatives in the state legislature have won a significant victory in the battle to preserve the state's model programs of welfare and rehabilitation. The importance of their triumph has been well-described in the concluding words of the Nevada Federation's reply to the report of the Legislative Counsel Bureau:

"It is true that even modern medical science can restore sight to only a very few blind persons, but sound laws wisely administered can help many sightless men and women to recover from blindness. This is what is happening in the State of Nevada today--and it should continue for the many tomorrows to come.

"Because Nevada is in the forefront in its aid and services to its blind citizens, what happens to this state's sightless also happens, in a very real sense, to all of the blind of our country. "

AMERICAN FOUNDATION ATTACKS WHITE CANE

by Lawrence Marcelino

The white cane--that famous symbol of mobility and legal equality on the part of the blind person--has found all but universal acceptance in public opinion and the laws of the land since its introduction a generation ago.

Today there are White Cane Laws on the books of 50 states and Puerto Rico. Nearly everywhere, as Dr. Jacobus tenBroek points out in his address reprinted below, the manifold values of this distinctive walking-stick--physical, psychological, functional, legal and symbolic--have come to be recognized, endorsed and established.

Nearly everywhere, that is, except in a few welfare agency circles--most notably and persistently, the American Foundation for the Blind.

In two separate articles appearing in the May, 1961 issue of its official journal, The New Outlook for the Blind, the AFB has systematically turned its guns upon the white cane, along with supporting legislation and programs of public education.

The first article, "Some Thoughts on White Cane Philosophy and Problems," is written by AFB staff members Carl T. Rodgers and

Arthur L. Voorhees. The second appears in the form of a regular column, "Editorially Speaking," under the byline of the New Outlook's managing editor, Howard M. Liechty.

In their scatter-gun attack upon every aspect of the white-cane movement, the authors of both articles fire freely from all directions--often trapping each other in the crossfire. Thus the white cane is condemned as under-visible and hence unsafe (Rodgers and Voorhees), and also as excessively conspicuous and hence "gratuitous" (Liechty). Again, on one hand the white cane is deprecated as a symbol of dependency and helplessness; on the other hand its users are cautioned not to entertain misguided notions of their travel independence but instead to rely upon "necessary and dependable assistance...from sighted fellow-pedestrians." (In the latter case the self-reliant right hand appears not to know what the custodial left hand is doing.)

Despite this seeming disregard of logical consistency or coherence, the writers of the two articles plainly share a common denominator. Both give major emphasis to the allegation that the white cane, its laws and its philosophy serve to intensify "an objectionable public image of blindness" (Liechty) by focusing upon "disabling and limiting factors" rather than upon "positive human values such as development of self-reliance, individual resourcefulness, ability to move from place to place at will, and the like" (Rodgers and Voorhees).

This is, of course, on its face an astonishing accusation to make against the white cane and its laws. Few aids or services yet devised for blind persons have accomplished as much to develop the qualities of self-reliance, resourcefulness, and (most obviously of all) "ability to move from place to place at will." The details of the truly remarkable advance in legal equality, physical mobility and personal independence represented by the white-cane movement are graphically set forth in Dr. tenBroek's address, and need not be recapitulated here. It is sufficient to note that, in wiping out the automatic presumption of contributory negligence which once haunted the blind pedestrian, the White Cane Laws have gone far to erase the ancient stereotype of the blind person as incapable of self-navigation and self-management.

The curiously illogical (and curiously familiar) reasoning behind this frontal attack upon the White Cane Laws merits closer examination. Briefly, it is the argument that any program or service which draws attention to the "disabling and limiting factors of blindness" thereby necessarily reinforces the stereotype of the helpless blind. Since the white cane appears to call attention to such limiting factors, it is to be opposed and condemned as "a social disservice to persons who are blind."

To appreciate the fallacy of this argument it is necessary only to reflect that all aids and services specifically addressed to blind people are, of course, "predicated on the handicaps and limitations resulting from loss of sight" (Rodgers and Voorhees). The test of any such service is not whether it is "predicated" on the limitations of blindness but whether it assists the blind individual to cope with and overcome them. The device of Braille, by the AFB's reasoning, must seem at least as great a "social disservice" as the white cane; its employment is a conspicuous symbol of the handicaps and limitations of loss of sight. Would the AFB then advocate the razing of the American Printing House for the Blind?

By the same token, such obvious reminders of the limitations of blindness as talking books, dark glasses, guide dogs, reader services, orientation and adjustment programs, even doctors who specialize in diseases of the eye--all are equally disservices to be deprecated and discontinued. Finally, if the American Foundation and the New Outlook are not compelled by their own logic to go out of business, surely they must at a minimum drastically overhaul their nomenclature. For what could be more in opposition to "the ideal of obliterating all public images of 'the blind'" (Rodgers and Voorhees) than the titles "American Foundation for the Blind" and "New Outlook for the Blind"?

In their curious and persistent attempt to reject all generalizations about blindness and any classification of "the blind" whatsoever on the basis of common needs--an attitude which has led the AFB to attack legislation protecting the right of blind people to organize--these spokesmen seem clearly prepared to throw out the baby with the bathwater. Blindness does in point of fact entail "disabling and limiting factors" which cannot be swept under the rug. Accordingly there is positive need for enlightened programs and provisions which frankly confront their deprivation and seek to offset it by maximizing opportunities, equalizing conditions, and correcting misconceptions which block the path of the blind toward independence and integration.

Such a program is embodied in the white cane and White Cane Laws. It is earnestly to be hoped that the American Foundation for the Blind will reconsider its opposition and no longer remain a stumbling-block to the blind pedestrian.

"HE WALKS BY A FAITH JUSTIFIED BY LAW..."

An Address by

Professor Jacobus tenBroek
President, American Brotherhood for the Blind

Nearly a century ago, in a case that has become a landmark, the chief justice of a New York Court wrote as follows:

The streets and sidewalks are for the benefit of all conditions of people, and all have the right, in using them, to assume that they are in good condition, and to regulate their conduct upon that assumption. A person may walk or drive in the darkness of the night, relying upon the belief that the corporation has performed its duty and that the street or the walk is in a safe condition. He walks by a faith justified by law, and if his faith is unfounded, and he suffers an injury, the party in fault must respond in damages. So, one whose sight is dimmed by age, or a near-sighted person whose range of vision was always imperfect, or one whose sight has been injured by disease, is each entitled to the same rights, and may act upon the same assumption. Each is, however, bound to know that prudence and care in turn are required of him, and that, if he fails in this respect, any injury he may suffer is without redress. The blind have means of protection and sources of knowledge of which all are not aware.

This resounding opinion is notable today for two oddly different reasons. On the one side it stands as a monumental expression of the modern view that the infirm and the disabled have a right, like any others, freely to travel the public streets and sidewalks. On the other side it is a rather startling revelation of that pervasive prejudice of earlier times that the sightless are different from others not just in degree but in kind -- different even from those whose vision is "imperfect" or "injured." It must have been a comforting thought in those not-so-innocent days of charity -- a thought not unlike that of the "nobility of poverty" -- that the blind were gifted by a kindly Providence with wondrous powers which somehow magically balanced the ledger and made it unnecessary to be greatly concerned about their welfare.

But while this curious residue of unconscious prejudice blurs its message, the real significance of this judicial opinion lies in its straightforward rejection of an age-old discrimination against the visually handicapped. This was the assumption that the blind man's place is in the home

or in the asylum, that he takes to the streets and public places at his own risk and peril, and that -- in the common legal parlance of the day before yesterday -- he is automatically guilty of contributory negligence in any accident involving travel.

In effect, it was held by the courts that the blind were not only sightless but legally without legs to stand on. If they could not see, then they should not attempt to walk. In the eyes of the law, they were immobilized. Their right to be in public places, often conceded as a matter of doctrine, was stillborn.

That was not only the case a century ago; it was also very generally the case, despite the judicial opinion quoted above, as recently as a generation ago. It was exactly 30 years ago, in 1930, that the first legislative step was taken to free the blind from the rocking-chair in which the law still kept them shackled. For while the New York jurist of 1867 had granted the blind the right to walk abroad with the expectation that the streets and sidewalks would be kept in shape, nothing had been done since the advent of the automobile to enable the blind to leave those sidewalks and to cross those streets. It was expressly to provide a new right to be abroad in the new conditions of modern motorized traffic, that the white cane was inaugurated as a travel aid for the blind. This year we are celebrating, not only the 30th anniversary of that first step onto the highway, but the virtual completion of the campaign which it inaugurated. Today White Cane Laws are on the books of every state in the Union -- and for the first time in modern history, everywhere in the land, the blind person truly "walks by a faith justified by law." The great and unique achievement of the White Cane Laws has been virtually to wipe out the automatic assumption of contributory negligence on the part of the blind pedestrian, and so to afford him a legal status in traffic, a protection not hitherto conferred.

The white cane is therefore a symbol of equality -- and still more clearly a sign of mobility. Nothing characterizes our streamlined modern civilization so much as its atmosphere of rapid transit and jet propulsion. More than ever, in urbanized and automobilized America, the race is to the swift -- until it almost seems that even the pursuit of happiness takes place on wheels. In the routines of daily living, as at a deeper social level, the keynote of our way of life is mobility: the capacity to get around, to move at a normal pace in step with the passing parade. In this race, until very recently, the blind were clearly lagging and falling ever farther behind. In terms of their physical mobility, as in the broader terms of economic and social mobility, this lag was long regarded as the permanent and inescapable handicap of blindness. But today the blind of America are catching up. Just as they are gaining social and economic mobility through the expansion of vocational horizons, so they are achieving a new freedom of physical mobility through the expansion of legal opportunities centering around the White Cane Laws.

For blind people everywhere, the white cane is not a badge of difference -- but a token of their equality and integration. For those who know its history and associations, the white cane is also something more: it is the tangible expression not only of mobility, but of a movement. It is indeed peculiarly appropriate that the organized movement of the National Federation of the Blind should have as its hallmark this symbol of the white cane. Nor does this take away in any degree from the vital and continuing contributions to the White Cane Laws of the Lions clubs of America. The Lions have been, and are, staunch allies in the movement of the blind and companions on the march which began a generation ago. During the decade following the introduction of the white cane, statewide organizations of the blind began to emerge in numbers across the country, in the first wave of a movement which was climaxed by the founding of the National Federation in 1940. Through the adoption of the White Cane Laws, the blind have gained the legal right to travel, the right of physical mobility. And at the same time, through the organization of their own national and state associations, the blind have gained the social right of movement and the rights of a social movement.

This is a striking parallel, and an instructive one. For the right to move about independently within the states, which the White Cane Laws have steadily won for the blind in the courts, is intimately bound up with the right of free movement across state boundaries, which the organized blind are steadily achieving through the reduction or outright abolishment of the residence requirements governing state programs of Aid to the Blind. In short, it is no empty phrase of rhetoric to say that the blind are "on the move." Thanks to the White Cane Laws, they now move freely and confidently not just on the sidewalks but across the streets. Thanks to the legislative reforms instigated by the Federation, they are moving also more freely than ever from state to state, as need and opportunity dictate; they are moving upward, into new careers and callings; and they are moving forward, into the main channels and thoroughfares of community life. The blind of America walk by a faith ever more justified by law....

I have said that the White Cane Laws enhance the freedom and confidence of the blind person by affording him a status of legal equality. But it is not, of course, the laws alone but the white cane itself which contributes to his confidence and self-sufficiency. This distinctive cane is several things at once: It is a tangible assist to the blind person in making his way; it is a visual signal to the sighted of the user's condition; and it is a symbol for all of a legal status and protection. Let us immediately concede, however, that the white cane is no magic wand or dowsing-rod, no substitute for sight and no guarantee of immunity against disaster. The cane cannot read signs or distinguish lights; it cannot traverse all areas immediately ahead and above, and even where it does it cannot make judgments for its user. In short, it is only a cane -- not a brain. And finally it is, of course, not always and universally recognized by the sighted as the legal device of a blind person -- although such recognition is already wide and rapidly increasing.

Despite all these necessary and obvious reservations, it is or should be indisputable that the white cane is an extremely effective aid to blind people in their daily movements. In fact, however, this conclusion is still disputed -- and not by the sighted only but even by a few who are blind. No less a personage than General Melvin Maas, president of the Blinded Veterans Association and head of the National Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, has now seen fit to speak out sweepingly against the white cane and all its works -- including the White Cane Laws and the whole principle of White Cane Week. The white cane, says the general, is utterly valueless as a signaling device unless it is "elevated at least to the horizontal level," which "would present a real hazard to oncoming pedestrians." Apparently General Maas is suggesting that the blind person must point his cane horizontally ahead of him like a swordsman; what the laws provide, in terms of elevation, is rather that the cane be vertically raised and extended as far as arm's length. Again, according to the general, "the cane would need to be of such size and shape as to be readily discernible by drivers of vehicles." But this is surely no objection; obviously the cane ought to be as visible as possible consistent with its portability and convenience. General Maas indeed goes so far in his opposition as to argue that "many cane users do not now use white canes, but use collapsible metallic ones." What he does not say is that there is nothing about collapsible metal canes which prevents them from being colored white (like that which I am carrying today). Finally, the general "clinches" his case with the contention that "the volume and speed of traffic now makes dependence on the cane most hazardous." There is no doubt, certainly, that traffic hazards are greater today, for everyone, than ever before. But what is the inference? Should the blind then retreat once more to the rocking-chair and never venture forth? This is, to be sure, a viewpoint not yet dead among us; as witness the opinion of a Milwaukee district judge, just two years ago, that blind people should stay at home because they only endanger traffic by moving around by themselves. Would General Maas subscribe to that retrogressive doctrine? If, on the other hand; the blind are to be permitted to retain their hard-won right of independent travel, should they now be stripped of the paramount aid and legal protection they have gained?

There are two different questions to be settled here: one of fact and the other of right. The factual question is simply whether the white cane and White Cane Laws are, or are not, a genuine help to blind pedestrians and sighted motorists. On this score the evidence is clear and overwhelming. When, for example, the New York legislature was considering enactment of a state White Cane Law a few years ago, a questionnaire on the merits of the proposal was dispatched to several hundred chiefs of police, attorneys-general and safety officers in other states. A very high proportion took the trouble to answer, and the verdict was that White Cane Laws, when properly publicized and administered, are a definite and powerful help to blind and sighted alike. No one, of course, proposed them as a substitute for prudence and common sense on either side; but all agreed that in the presence of ordinary caution and in the service of judgment the white cane is

unmistakably a good thing.

Some of the efforts to improve the usefulness and efficiency of the white cane, and to define its proper handling, are fascinating (if not always edifying) to recount.

A Milwaukee city attorney, for example, has proposed that all white canes should fly a flag in traffic -- whether at full or half-mast is not revealed. A still more colorful suggestion has been made by a policeman who investigated the most recent traffic death involving a white cane. The carrier, he said, should be enabled upon entering traffic to press a button releasing a set of dangles, whose glitter would presumably attract the eye of the most inattentive motorist; when not in use, the dangles would politely recede into the shell of the cane. Still others have suggested that the white cane ought properly to be at least one and one-half inches thick to improve its visibility -- a suggestion which will, no doubt, be happily received by all sightless weight-lifters.

Meanwhile legal minds have labored long and hard over the meaning of the term "raised or extended position" set forth as a requirement by the White Cane Laws of most states. Does "raised" mean, as one city attorney has proclaimed, "pointing upwards"? Does "extended" mean, as General Maas appears to suggest, pointing forward? And does the requirement involve both raising and extending the cane, simultaneously or alternately, in the manner of a drum-major? (If the cane in these circumstances also flies a flag and trails dangles, nearly all the elements of a one-man parade would appear to be present.)

There has been no less argument concerning the sanctions most profitably to be included in the White Cane Laws. Some states impose only civil sanctions, thus making it easier to secure the conviction of sighted offenders. Others make allowance for penal sanctions, including jail sentences; but this approach, while apparently more effective, automatically grants to defendants all the protections of criminal law, and by its very severity renders juries reluctant to bring in convictions against negligent drivers. Then, too, there is the question of the right-of-way to be accorded the blind user of a white cane. In at least one state his rights would appear to be virtually unlimited -- even by such normal barriers as traffic signals. Illinois provides that "Any blind person who is carrying in a raised or extended position a cane or walking stick which is white in color or white tipped with red, or who is being guided by a dog, shall have the right of way in crossing any street or highway, whether or not traffic on such street or highway is controlled by traffic signals. The driver of every vehicle approaching the place where a blind person, so carrying such a cane or walking stick or being so guided, is crossing a street or highway shall bring his vehicle to a full stop and proceeding shall take such precautions as may be necessary to avoid injury to the blind person."

At least six other states impose the full-stop requirement universally insisting that non-blind pedestrians, as well as drivers, must heed the approach of a blind white caner and come to a stop when approaching or coming into contact with him. Such provisions as these would seem to make the blind pedestrian virtually all-conquering.

It should be clear that the legal symbol and physical helpmate of the white cane has not magically solved all the ambulatory problems of the blind. It cannot at a gesture convert a crazed motorist into a sane one; it cannot make the sea of traffic part at its command; above all, it cannot absolve the blind pedestrian from his civilized responsibility to move with prudence and ordinary caution: to speak politely, while carrying a big stick. Let us claim no more for the white cane and the White Cane Laws than is their due. The paramount right which they confer upon the blind pedestrian is not so much a right-of-way (for that is limited and contingent), nor even a guarantee of safe conduct, but simply a right of passage -- the right to travel independently in public places, to move in the thick of things, with the confidence of legal status and the reasonable assurance of recognition. Before the era of the white cane, the blind man everywhere ventured forth at his peril and proceeded at his own risk; today "he walks by a faith justified by law."

Nearly a hundred years ago an American writer, Obadiah Milton Conover, composed a short poem which no blind person could then have read with conviction. This year, as we celebrate the anniversary of the white cane and the new-found independence which it signifies, each of us may affirm the poet's boast:

Alone I walk the peopled city,
Where each seems happy with his own;
O friends, I ask not for your pity --
I walk alone.

SELF-REALIZATION AND THE RIGHT TO READ

by Professor Kingsley Price

(Editor's note: Dr. Price, Professor of Philosophy and Education at Johns Hopkins University, has also been a Professor of Philosophy at the University of Nevada, Sarah Lawrence College and the University of Washington. The author of distinguished books and articles on philosophical topics, he is a member of the board of directors of the National Federation of the Blind and of the board of directors of the American Brotherhood for the Blind. The article which follows was first delivered as an address before the Jewish Braille Institute, New York City, on April 12, 1961.)

Part of the purpose of an anniversary celebration is to remind oneself of what he knows already--to consider the goal to which the organization is dedicated and the state of its accomplishment. If I may be so bold, I wish to try to do something of that sort now. We are all concerned with the problems from which the blind suffer; and, so far as possible, concerned to bring about a solution to them. What are these problems?

Let us begin by asking who the blind are. The answer is obvious. They are anybody and everybody. Among them we find people of both sexes and all ages; of every race, creed, and condition. They harbor as great a diversity of likes and dislikes, of capacities and incapacities, of needs and interests, as could any randomly selected group. Each is the center of a constellation of abilities and wishes, of hopes and fears which distinguishes him from every other person. For a blind person, as for anyone, it is being a center of a unique cluster of tendencies which makes him an individual. However like one another human beings are in some respects, what is ultimately important about each is this individuality, this unique self.

The general form of the problem which every human being faces in his life is how to realize his individual self. A blind person, like any other, faces a life problem of this general sort; and in relation to it, his blindness seems, at first sight, insignificant.

Yet it is not quite so. Like anyone at all, a blind person wants to make his own place in society, to earn his own living, to make his own peace with the world, to give a body and a substance to that unique pattern of dreams and aspirations in which he consists. The right to try to realize oneself is commonly granted to the sighted. The means for exercising this right differs from one modern civilized culture to another; and short of utopia, the degree of adequacy of the means differs

likewise. But within each culture, the means to exercise the right is guaranteed to those who have sight. In our culture this means is embodied in the right to equality of opportunity, to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action. Given these rights, one has the right to try to realize his individuality. These auxiliary rights are not, in fact, guaranteed to the blind. Unlike others, a blind person not only cannot try to be, he does not even possess the right to try to be himself.

Why do the blind not possess this right? The reason is clear. It is that they lack the means. They cannot exercise the right to equality of opportunity, to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action; and one who cannot exercise these auxiliary rights does not possess them. Equality of opportunity in economic affairs implies a training in accord with capacities; one is unable to choose a way of livelihood if he cannot acquire appropriate training. The right to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action implies access to those subjects upon which these activities may focus. What is required for a blind person to exercise these rights is different from what is required for the sighted. His training for a livelihood must be carried on in a different way. The way in which he can construct a foundation on which to exercise freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action is different. Lacking their foundation, he cannot exercise the freedoms, otherwise commonly guaranteed. A blind person, because he does not possess the rights to equality of opportunity, to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action is denied the most fundamental of all human rights, the one which they make possible--the right to try to be himself.

Why are the blind denied the basis for exercising these auxiliary rights? Commonly, it is guaranteed to the sighted. Our schools, training institutions, museums, libraries, press, television, films--our entire way of life--is geared to providing for the sighted the means for vocational and professional training, for free access to subjects for speech and thought, for considering alternatives for conscientious allegiance and action in free association with others. There are, of course, imperfections; but generally, no one is denied, on the ground that he can see, the chance to exercise those rights necessary to the right to try to be himself. This is not the case for the blind. Roadside advertising, throw-aways, newspapers; pulps, slicks, learned journals; plays, novels, poems, painting, sculpture, architecture, music; natural and social sciences; politics, religion, and theology--access to all these is denied to the blind; for the reading materials in which they consist or are discussed are not available to them. Moreover, they are often excluded from access to apartment buildings, hotels, and railroads. They are frequently denied admission to liberal

arts, vocational, and professional schools; and even when they secure the training, they are frequently denied the opportunity to succeed or fail in a job. Our society denies to the blind, because they are blind, the materials and opportunities which are necessary for exercising those rights whose foundation and exercise it guarantees to others; and it does so because, influenced by the stereotype of the blind person's remoteness from society, it believes him incapable of playing any role in it, preferring to care for him as a dependent rather than to respect him as an equal. The blind require a different basis for the exercise of rights; and our society, failing to provide that basis deprives them of that exercise, and consequently of those rights.

The problems which the blind face are numerous; but in all cases, their form is expressed in the question: how can one provide for them the foundation for the auxiliary rights I have mentioned. The picture I have drawn of the present state of the foundation is exaggerated, but not much so. During the last thirty years, the blind have banded together to construct that foundation themselves; and through the efforts of their organization, the National Federation of the Blind, they have made some progress. The legislation it has sponsored recognizes their capacity and need for vocational and professional training; and once they possess it, their right to exercise at least some choice with respect to economic opportunities. As a result of the Federation's efforts, the use of public moneys to encourage the blind toward self-support, rather than to maintain them in a condition of passive and isolated dependence, is gradually being admitted as a guiding principle in social welfare work and legislation. Their right to organize for these purposes, also, may be on the way to legal recognition. The efforts of the Federation in these directions have been clearly understood and greatly assisted by the Jewish Braille Institute. They have been efforts, chiefly through legislation, to lay that part of the foundation for the right to an equal opportunity in economic affairs which, though composed of a different stuff, supports a similar right for those who see. The importance of this reformation in thought concerning the basis for equality of economic opportunity cannot be over-emphasized; it is an essential part of that foundation for rights I have been discussing. But it is easy to forget that bread alone does not suffice, even if one earns it himself. And the rights to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action cannot belong to one simply because he has a stomach filled with the fruits of his own labor. They must rest on a foundation of ideas about which to think or talk with others freely, on which to center loyalty at will, and for which to work from personal choice. This part of the foundation for rights is, for the blind, even more inadequate than it is for that of equality in economic opportunities, however meager this last may be.

Why is this part of the foundation so weak? I wish to direct your attention to one deficiency alone. The blind lack vision. This simple truism is of the greatest importance because it means that their experience of the world must occur in a different way. Vision is the quickest and easiest way to discover what things are; and lacking it, the blind must make many of their discoveries of things in a slower and more cumbersome way. To learn about the world, everyone relies, to some extent, upon descriptions of it. I imagine that all of us, here, know about Antarctica, not through having seen it, but through having read descriptions of it. But most of us learn about it by seeing those descriptions; and most of us can exercise the right to choose which of those visible descriptions he will read. The blind must rely more heavily than any on descriptions; but the great number of them available to those who see has no counterpart for those who do not. Actual and audible descriptions, those made with Braille and voice recording, are woefully inadequate in number and kind; and those who need most to learn about the world through symbols for it suffer from the greatest lack of them. Consequently, they have almost no choice of reading on any given subject.

Here, too, there has been some progress. A number of persons throughout the country devote much time to volunteer Braille transcription; and several organizations, including the Jewish Braille Institute, work with energy and devotion toward increasing the number of books available to the blind. Their work cannot be too much lauded. The Division for the Blind of the Library of Congress, the chief source of reading materials for the blind, spends a great deal of money each year and makes available a fair number of titles.

The progress, however, is small, and frequently in the wrong direction. The devoted Braille transcribers can, at best, make only single copies; and they not infrequently refuse to transcribe materials of whose style or subject matter they disapprove.

The Library of Congress makes available to the blind reader almost no book which is controversial, earnest, long, or capable of shocking any reader. I have been able to discover in its collection no serious book of non-fiction, popular or technical, which is pertinent to the Soviet Union, to China, to Africa, and for that matter, to any nation or culture, past or present. Greek and Latin literature in all its enormous variety is represented by Homer and three or four of the Greek dramas, that of the Church fathers, by St. Augustine's Confessions; that of Mediaeval times, by Chaucer's Canterbury Tales; that of the Renaissance, by nothing at all; that of subsequent times, by very little. The entire world, except for Europe and North America, has almost no representation whatever; and modern and contemporary

times are represented by books selected almost exclusively from those written in the English language. The blind can find in the Library of Congress, Division for the Blind, almost no serious book on the arts, none on history and politics, one or two great books of philosophy, almost no book of significant poetry, none of science and theology. He can find two or three novels of Henry James, and one or two (those not his best) by Faulkner. It is not merely great or serious books which are missing; the most popular of contemporary authors (let alone those of the past) are totally unrepresented. There is nothing at all of Nobokov or Mickey Spillane. The books in its collection for the blind are those which it is easy and safe, easy and safe in every respect, for it to acquire. The collection is incredibly narrow, commonplace, superficial, trivial, banal, and sentimental.

Moreover, that large part of the Library's collection which is in voice recording suffers from two additional deficiencies. The first is that many of those who read for recording present to the listener not books, but performances of them. In dialogue, the male reader affects female voices for female roles. A sneeze, a groan, a laugh, a scream is presented to the reader not by the word, but by the thing itself. The neighbors frequently wonder what is going on. More important, it is extremely wearing to listen very long. It is as if you read a book in which different characters appeared in different colors and types of print, and as if the print for each were differently illuminated. Most important, the imagination of the listener is never allowed its own exercise; he cannot understand what he reads for himself. He does not read anything; he hears someone else giving a dramatic interpretation. Secondly, many of the recorders read extremely slowly. This deliberate inertia hampers the proper function of reading, that of broadening the experience of the reader--a function especially important for the blind.

No institution could make available to the blind all the literature, good, bad, and indifferent, which is available to the sighted public; but one could endeavor to represent each kind adequately. In its selection enormously favoring the indifferent, the Library of Congress makes no significant effort at adequate representation. It imposes a censorship which prevents the blind from developing out of their reading those ideas about which they might freely talk and think, and toward which they might express their conscientious allegiance by acting freely in association with others. As the chief source of reading materials for the blind (fortunately not the only one), it is a major factor in narrowing the experience, stunting the imagination, frustrating the thought, and limiting the knowledge of all the blind throughout the country.

In our country, everyone has the right to read what anyone has the right to publish--everyone, that is, except the blind. What they can read is enormously limited, and enormously superficial. The importance of this limitation cannot be stressed too much. To be able to associate freely with others depends upon a community with them in knowledge and feeling; and this community is built up, in good measure, out of a common experience gained by all to some extent through reading, but to a much greater extent in that manner, by the blind. The right to choose one's occupation depends upon his knowledge of opportunities proffered, and upon his training; and here again, being able to read freely is essential to both. The ideas about which one may choose to speak or think to adopt and to act for, all depend largely upon what one reads. What one finds by reading is an important factor in that pattern of dreams and aspirations in which he consists. For what one aspires to do is determined by what he thinks he may do; and the decisions as to what he will do must be made on the basis of his conception of the world to which reading largely contributes. The right to read is essential to equality of opportunity, to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action.

The Library of Congress, through censorship of its collection of books for the blind frustrates their right to read. In doing so, it devitalizes their experience, limits drastically the alternatives open to their aspiration, and precludes that individuality which is their own. It fails to provide an essential part of that foundation upon which the blind can exercise the right to freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience, and of action. Frustrating the blind person's right to read dispossesses him of his most fundamental right, the right to try to be himself. To solve the problems of the blind, one must make more representative the collection of books available to them; and an essential part of this problem is that of improving the collection of the Library of Congress upon which they all depend.

We must try to be ourselves; and the blind man's right to make that effort is one to which his right to read is as necessary as his right to earn a living. On assuring to every blind person the right to read and the right to try to be himself, the blind and all their friends must now center their attention.

BROTHERS... & OTHERS

Blind American in Japan No "Ugly" American. Nyal D. McConoughey, a blind American civilian employed at the American airbase of Tachikawa in Japan, has been instrumental in the formation of the Tachikawa

Council for the Betterment of the Japanese Blind.

Inaugurated last October, the nonprofit private group has as its primary objective "to promote voluntary interest in blind people who reside in the local Japanese community," according to a Council Newsletter edited by Mr. McConoughey.

Working closely with local mayors and community agencies, the Tachikawa Council provides material and monetary assistance to the more than 1,000 underprivileged blind Japanese in the area surrounding the airbase.

"Eventually Japanese government welfare programs may be developed to meet some of the needs of the blind," McConoughey observes, "but today private donations offer the only means of progress in many aspects of the long-range goal: self-respect for each blind individual and satisfying integration with society."

Five Braille typewriters have already been provided by the Council to organizations serving the blind, and plans are underway for a Talking Book program as well as the provision of Japanese-character typewriters for secretarial trainees and scholarships for blind persons interested in social-service careers.

McConoughey, the guiding spirit of the Tachikawa Council, presently serves as its secretary-treasurer. Lt. Col. John P. Remaklus is chairman and Mr. Claude Holeman, vice-chairman.

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Montana's Model Summer School. An unusual summer school and orientation seminar for blind Montanans--decidedly worthy of copy by other state organizations of the blind--is currently being held from mid-June to mid-July at Bozeman, Montana.

A project of the Montana Association for the Blind, the five-week Annual Summer School for the Adult Blind makes use of classrooms, dormitory and other facilities of Montana State College.

"Here the visually handicapped are given the opportunity to learn some of the 'tricks' of being blind and to find their way toward a more independent and satisfactory way of dealing with their handicap," according to THE OBSERVER, official journal of the Montana Association.

"It is not a trade school. It is a place where a blind person will be introduced to devices and appliances specially designed for the use of

blind people; to methods of reading and writing; to the means whereby he may travel about freely on the streets, in trains and buses; and to ways of handling himself easily at the table and in restaurants.

"He will have the satisfaction of making handsome and practical articles. He will be able to see for himself what other people with low vision or no sight at all have done about their problems and how he can himself gain confidence and a very large measure of independence--in other words, how he can get back into circulation," the Montana journal points out.

Operated principally for sightless adult residents of the state, the Montana Summer School accepts out-of-state blind applicants at nominal cost. For Montanans everything except personal expenses is furnished free--including meals, lodging, instruction, classroom supplies and transportation to and from the School. Inquiries should be addressed to Mr. Keith Denton, Chairman of the Summer School Committee, Box 22, Lakeside, Montana.

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New Reading for Washingtonians. The Seattle Library for the Blind has recently added two more periodicals to its growing list of magazine literature for blind residents of the Pacific Northwest. "Readers who enjoy being transported into the realm of science-fiction will find entertaining reading by favorite authors in GALAXY MAGAZINE, available each month in Braille," the Library reports. "Science-fiction fans who own tape players may borrow it in tape-recorder form, as it is also on tape.

"A monthly periodical devoted to the interests of older people makes its first appearance with the April issue on talking book records. SENIOR CITIZEN MAGAZINE, recorded at 33 1/3 r.p.m., carries a selection of articles and stories of personal growth, inspiration, and community service that will appeal to the older reader. For information on either of these magazines please contact the Seattle Library for the Blind."

(Editor's note: We are indebted for this item to THE OBSERVER, regular publication of the Montana Association for the Blind, which also notes that readers outside the Seattle Library region should consult their own regional libraries concerning the availability of these and similar periodicals.)

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S. Ruth Barrett, long-time leader in the work for the blind of the American Bible Society, died in March at the age of 62. A pioneer in the talking-book recording of scripture, she was awarded the Megel Medal in 1959 for distinguished service to the blind, and the previous year received the National Annual Achievement Award in Philadelphia for her contributions toward the education and rehabilitation of the sightless.

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A Doctor's Foresight. The eyes of a Boston doctor may restore sight to a Negro store clerk and a German war bride in Florida, according to a report in the Nevada Federation of the Blind News Bulletin.

Five hours after his death in May, 1961, corneal tissue from the eyes of Dr. Edward C. Sweebe was flown to Jacksonville for twin transplant operations on an injury victim and a blind woman--both of whom were given excellent chances for recovery of sight.

Dr. Sweebe, who died at 32, had devoted his young medical career to saving the vision of others. He directed that his eyes be donated after his death to the eye bank of Massachusetts General Hospital Eye and Ear Infirmary.

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Mrs. Alice Tanner of Los Angeles, vice president of Avis-Tanner Gray Line Corporations, was recently elected to the board of trustees of the Braille Institute of America, according to an announcement from Cecil L. Whitehead, president of the board. Mrs. Tanner has served as past president of the Women's Division of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and is a past president of the Women's Breakfast Club of Los Angeles.

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More Literature Available. The AMERICAN HERITAGE MAGAZINE is presently being reproduced on magnetic tape by the Library for the Blind, a division of the Free Library of Philadelphia. For information, write: Library for the Blind, 17th and Spring Garden Streets, Philadelphia 30, Pennsylvania.... Braille and talking-book copies of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.'s annual report are now available to blind persons upon request to the secretary of A T & T at 195 Broadway, New York 7, New York.

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"Printing Without Ink." (Excerpts from an article in THE PUB, journal of the National Publishing Company, February, 1961.) "For a century, Braille has been the true, if cumbersome, key to knowledge and independence for those who cannot see. Sadly, only one in four of America's 350,000 sightless citizens can read Braille. Most have become blind late in life and wrongly feel they are too old to learn..."

"Adults of 65 can and do learn to read Braille, though seldom as fast as those who were taught as children. These folk often read with both hands simultaneously, sometimes 300 words a minute. As the right index finger finishes line one, the left reads into line two. The brain stores this information for a moment, then drops it into place..."

"The business world is reacting to this emancipation; not only by employing more blind workers. American Telephone & Telegraph Company prints a Braille edition of its annual report for an estimated 3,600 blind share owners. Sightless customers of Lloyds Bank, London, receive their statements in Braille.

"In a special field of private enterprise there's Frank Spagnuolo, blind, who was caught in Los Angeles last year booking horse race bets in Braille. The fine was still \$100....

"Today, from 30 libraries throughout the U.S., thousands of best-sellers, classics, poems, knitting patterns, cookbooks and textbooks, all in Braille, circulate to blind readers by mail, free.

"The American Printing House for the Blind, Louisville, annually produces over 75,000 bound volumes, 35,000 pamphlets and around 70 regular magazines (best known: READER'S DIGEST, published in Braille by public donation since 1928).

"Over five thousand musical scores, to suit all tastes, also are printed each year. Blind musicians read music with one hand and practice with the other. Sightless pianist George Shearing memorizes Mozart--in bed."

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Ron Warner, president of the Oregon Council of the Blind, has signed a contract to teach in the Public-School System of Eugene, Oregon. He will move to his new address in August, and reports that he is looking forward to being "closer to more of our O. C. B. members and being able to visit more of the Council's chapters."

JULY 1961

VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA: BLIND WIN RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

by Russell Kletzing

(Editor's note: Mr. Kletzing is president of the California Council of the Blind and secretary of the National Federation of the Blind.)

In every people's movement there are climactic episodes which contain all the drama and suspense of fiction. The historic struggle of the blind men and women of California to obtain legislative protection of their right to organize--a struggle which has finally been capped with victory--is such a story.

The narrative begins in June, 1957 with the introduction into Congress of a bill by Senator John F. Kennedy--proposing, for the first time in history, that the right of blind people to organize independently and voluntarily, and to be consulted in the administration of public policy concerning them, be backed by the protective guarantee of federal legislation.

The effect of Senator Kennedy's bill--duplicated by an identical House proposal on the part of Congressman Walter Baring--was instantaneous and electric. Blind people all over the nation responded with massive enthusiasm to the hope and prospect embodied in the Kennedy-Baring bill. Perhaps never before in the history of the organized blind movement has any measure been greeted with such universal excitement by the nation's blind--and never before has a proposal been fought more vigorously by powerful custodial interests who view themselves as guardians of the "helpless blind."

Blind Californians responded to the challenge like those everywhere in the land. Despite the lack of effective leadership, they moved in significant numbers to interview their representatives and senators in Congress, to obtain pledges of support and the introduction of companion right-to-organize bills.

While letters by the hundreds of thousands poured into the mail baskets of congressmen, the desperate opposition of agency representatives, together with the heavy press of other legislative business, conspired to prevent a hearing on the Kennedy bill before the adjournment of Congress in the late summer of 1958.

But the blind had only begun to fight. Early in 1959, as the next session of Congress opened, Senator Kennedy and Congressman Baring reintroduced their right-to-organize bills--this time with even greater support in both houses. As a consequence, the House Committee on Labor held lengthy hearings in March--at which a score of witnesses from the National Federation of the Blind demonstrated vividly and emphatically the need for protection of their organizational rights, as well as the mutual benefits achieved where agencies were prepared to consult fully with independent associations of the blind.

The national fight for the Kennedy bill, however, ended inconclusively. No action was taken by Congress, although a full-scale study of problems of the handicapped was authorized and set in motion.

Meanwhile affairs in the California Council of the Blind--the Federation's state affiliate--had reached the boiling point and spilled over. A movement had developed to introduce more dynamic leadership, but in the fall of 1958 the incumbent administration won the presidential election by a scant two votes. However, it lost all but two of the elective seats on the Executive Committee. In the course of this struggle the Council president, Robert Campbell, had allied himself with the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation with the result that the employees of that agency had rallied behind him in his campaign for reelection.

Early in January, 1959, the Council's Executive Committee invoked the constitutional provision under which its members could call a special meeting. One of the chief items of business was the proposal that there be a state right-to-organize bill. All of the new members of the Executive Committee supported the state measure, but the president and his supporter argued against it--apparently because it was opposed by the State Rehabilitation Bureau. The Executive Committee then directed the president to submit the measure to the Legislature. Six weeks later, when the president resigned under the pressure of a wave of popular indignation, he still had not secured the introduction of the right-to-organize bill, although some twenty other bills had already gone into the hopper. As first vice president of the California Council, I succeeded to the presidency following Campbell's departure. That was on March 1. On March 5 we obtained the introduction of S. 895, a right-to-organize and right-to-consult bill closely modeled after the Kennedy bill (and soon known throughout the State as the "Little Kennedy bill").

One of our first moves was to ask for and receive a hearing before the Legislative Committee of the Department of Education--where we sought their support of the Little Kennedy bill, but without success.

The career of the Little Kennedy bill was managed by Senator Richard Richards, one of the Legislature's ablest members. Its first hearing, unfortunately, was before a three-man subcommittee whose decisions were privately reached behind closed doors. The bill was killed behind those same closed doors. But within a matter of days it was alive again and kicking--reintroduced, this time in the Assembly, by another experienced legislator: Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins. In its new form it was divided into two bills--one covering the right to organize and one the right to consult.

Step by step, the right-to-organize bill (A. B. 2559) was fought through the California Legislature. (The bill guaranteeing rights of consultation was early referred to an interim committee.) On the last night of the 1959 session, following earlier passage by the Assembly, A. B. 2559 received Senate approval.

The battle was won in the Legislature--only to be lost on the Governor's desk. Governor Brown declined to sign the measure, owing primarily to the opposition of the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, and so it died the victim of a "pocket veto." The Campbell faction in the Council had repaid well its political debt to the Rehabilitation Bureau by hurling a hate campaign of mail against our bill.

After this tremendous disappointment, we began laying the ground work still more carefully for a renewed effort. For example, support was obtained from key political groups. By early 1960, nine democratic clubs had endorsed the right to organize, along with three assembly district democratic councils and a congressional district democratic council. Moreover, the latter sponsored a similar resolution before the Fresno convention of the California Democratic Council in February; at that meeting the Council's president appeared before the Resolutions Committee, and the statement of support was carried without a dissenting vote.

The next step was the State Democratic Platform. Convening on one of Sacramento's hot summer nights, the State Democratic Convention unequivocally approved the right-to-organize legislation. Its platform states: "The right of the blind or other handicapped to organize for mutual protection and representation without interference from state or local employees shall not be denied."

Another key group in our campaign was organized labor. In August, 1960, the AFL-CIO statewide convention adopted a resolution which recognized the similarity of labor's fight for organizational rights to that of the blind for the same goal.

In late 1959 the faction supporting Campbell had withdrawn from the California Council and formed their own separate organization. Freed of this internal resistance, members of the Council embarked upon a program of meetings with their legislators in home districts. The importance of the right to organize was explained to the lawmakers, and nearly all grasped the point and promised their support.

As a result of this spadework, the right-to-organize measure was one of the first bills introduced in the 1961 Legislature (as A.B. 169). Again it was skillfully handled by the veteran solon, Augustus Hawkins. A bill guaranteeing the right to consult was also introduced; but the Council did not bring this bill to a hearing, since consultation with most state agencies had meanwhile improved, due perhaps to the pendency of the legislation. Moreover, the strategy was to avoid confusing the two issues.

Although A.B. 169 was introduced early, the committee hearing was not held immediately. Several times it was set for hearing, then postponed for a week or two. This tactic kept the opposition just a little off-balance and allowed time for the necessary ground work still to be laid.

In February, the Council Bulletin was issued with a full account of our legislation, including the right-to-organize bill. The names of the committee members were there also. Next, several of the committee members were interviewed by blind members from their home districts. In addition, legislative seminars were held by the Council, one in San Francisco and one in Los Angeles; our right-to-organize bill was reviewed again, and the support for it from the Council membership became a living force. Mail flowed into the Capitol in volume, supporting our cause.

The first real test came on the first Tuesday in April before the very liberal Assembly Social Welfare Committee. Jack Fletcher (our field director and legislative representative), Grace Petrie, and I appeared in support of the bill. Less than a dozen other Council members were in attendance.

The committee at the moment was faced with an extremely heavy agenda. For that reason, after Assemblyman Hawkins introduced the bill, Jack Fletcher and I kept our discussion to a minimum. We gave most of the time to Grace Petrie, President of the Blind Workers' Guild of Oakland. Grace was magnificent, relating clearly and concisely how fear and coercion had prevented organization of the Guild for more than 10 years and still hung like a pall over the Oakland shop.

It was apparent during committee sessions that A. E. (Tony) Septinelli had carefully organized the opposition to our bill. Espie White, legislative chairman of the splinter group, led off. Tony followed next, seeking to minimize his role as a representative of the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation and to emphasize his character as a blind person. Other opposition witnesses included Josephine Santirfo, her husband Bob, Phil Maddox, and Rev. Grover Roberson. Although the committee was seriously pressed for time, the parade of witnesses went on and on--each repeating the same song. The difficulty seemed to be that they had no real argument against the bill, except that it was unnecessary. When Phil Maddox, in desperation, suggested that there was something "communistic" about the bill, a wave of disgust swept the committee and broke with a thud like a wet dishrag. The vote was unanimous for the bill.

In the California Legislature it is virtually unheard-of for a committee recommendation to be reversed on the floor except for "headline" issues. Nonetheless, two years before, the rehabilitation agency had carried the fight against us to the floor--so we were prepared. Following is an eyewitness description of the floor action that followed:

"An aborted effort on the floor of the Assembly by a few opponents of the right to organize bill was ably handled by Assemblyman Hawkins, Bruce Allen and Phillip Burton. Mr. Hawkins introduced the bill on the Assembly floor and explained what the bill did and why it was needed. After his introduction, three or four members of the Assembly spoke in opposition to the bill. Two were concerned because of opposition by blind people, and two because the aged were included. Assemblyman Allen then took the floor and told what an upstanding organization the Council of the Blind was, and that we sponsored the bill. He also said that the greatest opponent to the bill was Tony Septinelli and the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, and that if the Department was going to oppose the bill, then the bill must be needed. He felt that opposition by any department that administered programs for the blind was incomprehensible, and he asked for a favorable vote. Mr. Burton then took the floor and also asked for a favorable vote. The bill passed the Assembly by a vote of 58 to 7."

By now we were anxious for quick action--but A.B. 169 could not be scheduled on the crowded calendar of the Senate Social Welfare Committee until May 17. Again the mail flowed in from the grass roots to support us. Also, twelve Council stalwarts came to Sacramento and worked with Jack Fletcher to contact not only committee members but nearly all the members of the Senate.

The subsequent Senate hearing followed much the pattern of the previous one, but this time the committee fortunately had a light agenda. For

the first time we were able to present a fully documented account of the infringements of our right to organize. On this occasion the room was crowded. More than 30 Council members had journeyed to Sacramento to watch the vital hearing on their right to organize.

Grace Petrie again was magnificent. Under her calm exterior was the bite of carefully controlled anger and unquestionable sincerity. George Callas, blind insurance broker from San Mateo, also testified in support of the bill--detailing a hair-raising series of attempts to prevent Manuel Urena from getting a job, the only possible reason being that Urena was active in the Council.

Among other documents presented to the committee was a letter from Edward J. Brown, Jr. who discussed the efforts of the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation to keep him from joining the California Council of the Blind.

In addition to our own testimony, this time we had an impressive array of supporters. Jack Fletcher quoted from a letter in which Attorney General Mosk authorized him to state that he supported the principles of our bill. Don Veile of the AFL-CIO threw labor's support behind the bill. The longshoremen and warehousemen's unions had previously informed committee members of its support. The disabled of San Mateo County were also represented. Apparently based on the testimony at the hearing, and as a complete surprise to us, Mr. Broadhurst registered the support of the County Supervisors' Association.

Again Tony Septinelli had the opposition carefully coached. Most of those who had previously opposed the bill were on hand, plus one or two more--but now a note of desperation had crept into their voices. Their testimony suggested that some veiled threat lay behind the bill; one even intimated that it was all a plot by George McLain, the old-age pension promoter, to take over the California Council of the Blind!

Despite these maneuvers the vote of the committee was 5 to 1, with only Senator Backstrand of Riverside dissenting. As it passed the Senate Committee, A. B. 169 would add the following section to the government code:

"8403. No officer or employee of the State or any county, city and county, city, or district who is concerned with the administration of any program for the aged, blind, or disabled shall in his official capacity attempt to coerce or coerce any aged, blind or disabled person to join or refrain from joining any organization of the aged, blind, or disabled."

For nearly three weeks thereafter the bill was on the Senate calendar, but was repeatedly postponed while the Senate rushed to meet its June 1 deadline for handling its own bills. Meanwhile we continued contacting senators and writing letters.

The day before our own Council convention, June 2, 40 delegates from throughout the state arrived early at the Capitol. They visited their senators and reminded them of our earnestness in seeking an affirmative vote on our bill. We later met with the Governor, who promised that he would either sign or veto the bill and indicated that he could see no reason for opposing it. The day following our convention, A. B. 169 passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 2, with only Senators Backstrand of Riverside and Rodda of Sacramento voting no. A few days later, the Assembly concurred in the Senate amendments and the bill was sent to the Governor.

On July 12, 1961, Governor Pat Brown signed into law Assembly Bill 169, protecting the constitutional right of all blind persons to form or join organizations of their own choosing--free from coercion or interference by the agencies of their state government.

In this campaign of the organized blind of California, more than a state law has been won. History has been made--and a long forward step taken toward the eventual triumph of our right to organize throughout the nation at large.

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE AND PERSON-TO-PERSON

by Dr. Isabelle L. D. Grant

(Editor's note: Dr. Grant, a frequent contributor to these columns, is a member of the board of directors of The American Brotherhood for the Blind and also a member of the board of the National Federation of the Blind.)

Asad did not want to beg. His heart was heavy as he left his hut at daybreak, guided by the hand of his little nine-year-old son, to find a spot among the the throng in the city of Lahore. Asad wanted to work to keep his wife and five children from starvation. He had been a kitemaker, but the government had put a ban on the sale of the tissue paper he used to make kites. With bamboo and gaily-colored paper, Asad had made hundreds of kites and sold them for a little dime, eight

anas, apiece. The children of Lahore loved to play with their kites, darting skillfully across the street to retrieve them, scampering recklessly down the back alleys, even scaling the roofs of the houses, and matching their prowess in a hotly contested game of patang. His trade at a standstill, Asad had gone to the social worker, to the can factory, to the bazaar, in search of work. He was blind, so he was rejected as useless, helpless, and hopeless. But the social worker had an idea. She would ask a blind friend who was visiting Lahore. In no time at all, the day came when thirty pounds of tissue paper arrived from the County Club of Adult Blind in Los Angeles, California. Asad was in business again, but more important, Asad was restored to himself.

A letter was read to the members of the California Council of the Blind telling how discarded spectacles could help persons with poor vision to see better. The lenses and frames were collected, measured, filed and then supplied free to needy persons whose vision was poor. The local ophthalmologists in Karachi have volunteered this help through their local Lions Club. Could the California group help? Would they help keep a "dersay" whose eyesight was failing, working at his sewing machine? Would they help a child see better if fitted with a pair of lenses? Foraging among their relatives, friends and acquaintances, these blind persons came up with thirteen thousand pairs of unwanted glasses, which through the help of CARE were quickly sent to Pakistan. A second consignment is already well ahead. How many needy persons will be helped back to work and happiness through a pair of glasses would be hard to estimate. In a "thank-you" letter from Pakistan, we are told that already over a hundred pairs a month are being fitted and distributed among the poor.

The image of the West looms large in the hearts and minds of the people of these emergent countries. They want to build their land just as we built ours. And they want to build it their way. Like us, too, they want to be master in their own house, free from foreign domination. They know they need some help, for much time has been lost. But help bought at the price of the freedom of their minds, of their ideals, they do not desire. They have created a self-image of independence, self-determination, a future. The young blind share in this newly-found dignity and purpose, for the blind student knows that only through education will come his emancipation.

But facilities are grossly lacking. The blind student asks for books: law books, text books in history, geography, science, engineering. If with his fingers he can make baskets, his fingers can also be trained to handle machinery. He asks for writing tools, slate and stylus, Braille writers, Braille magazines and Braille paper (a scarce commodity in his country). Blind persons in California have already sent

three Braille writers, two dozen slates and styluses, textbooks, books on the education of the blind, and music notation books. Blind persons in Colorado are assisting a blind school with ten young pupils in East Pakistan. A young blind man in Kerala, South India, wants to know about the employment of blind persons in the United States in order to get ideas for his own country. A young blind law student in Jordan would like to take a post-graduate year here in the United States in order to be better equipped for work in his own country. A young man in Amritsar, Punjab, India, wants to know how to provide education for more of the blind children, as schools for the blind are too expensive to run.

But most heartwarming of all are the letters exchanged--some Brailled, some dictated, some handwritten, others typewritten. Some are in schoolboy English; some, when the writer had attended a missionary school, are in flawless Oxford English. The letters tell about families and friends, about children and grandchildren, about births, marriages, celebrations, and ceremonies. Person-to-person becomes friend-to-friend. Might the common bond of interest be blindness? Perhaps, and why not?

Would that we could find common bonds of friendship among all people; then we could say with the bard of Scotland, "Then man to man, the world o'er, would brothers be for a'that."

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF THE BLIND CONVENTION ROUNDUP

by John Taylor

(Editor's note: Mr. Taylor is President of the National Federation of the Blind. The following report, complete except for social details, is the official convention roundup released in July from the N. F. B.'s National Headquarters, 329 Insurance Exchange Building, Des Moines 9, Iowa.)

More than 500 blind persons from 50 states journeyed to Kansas City, Missouri for the four-day annual convention of the National Federation of the Blind beginning July 4. The meeting, which signaled the Federation's 21st anniversary, also witnessed a series of important actions and decisions affecting the future of the national organization.

Founders Resign

After 21 years as founder and as the continuously re-elected president of the National Federation, Dr. Jacobus tenBroek surprised and dismayed the convention by announcing his resignation from office on the first morning of the sessions. Dr. tenBroek's resignation, which came in the middle of his current two-year term of office, was prompted solely by the bitter factional strife which has gripped the NFB in recent years and had come to paralyze virtually all of its activities during the past 12 months. I cannot fully describe my own feelings as the new president of the organization which this man brought into being and has nurtured through a score of years. We have lost in Dr. tenBroek the greatest leader the organized blind have ever had or will have. His announcement struck dismay into the hearts of hundreds in the audience; at its conclusion there were few among us with eyes entirely dry. As founder of the Federation, as its only president for 21 years, as its leader and leading spirit, he built the Federation (against persistent external opposition during the whole life of the Federation and internal disruption in recent years) into an organization that is democratic, representative, and national. In a unique way and to a striking degree, its philosophy is his philosophy, its character is his character, its accomplishments are his. In the hearts and gratitude of his fellows, he stands as the blind man of the century.

Emil Arndt, the NFB's treasurer since its founding in 1940, had earlier announced his resignation and made it effective as of July 7. Emil felt that the intense internecine strife in which the NFB had been engulfed posed too great a threat to his professional career to permit his continuance in office.

Elections and Continuations

Three new officers and four board members were elected by the convention. John Taylor of Iowa was elected president; Perry Sundquist of California became first vice-president, and Franklin VanVliet of New Hampshire was chosen to be treasurer. Two others elected at last year's convention continued in their offices: Donald Capps of South Carolina as second vice-president and Russell Kletzing of California as secretary.

The four elected members of the Board of Directors are: Anita O'Shea of Massachusetts who was named to succeed herself; Harold Reagan of Kentucky; T. F. Moody of Texas, and Frank Lugiano of Pennsylvania. The new members replace Don Cameron of Florida, Ray Penix of California and Victor Buttram of Illinois, whose terms had expired. Four other board members were continued in office: William Hogan

of Connecticut, George Burke of New Jersey, Eulasee Hardenberg of Alabama, and Clyde Ross of Ohio. Clyde Ross also ran for the offices of president and first vice-president, but was defeated in both attempts. Although he had been an administration supporter for many years, Mr. Ross campaigned this year as an opponent.

Internal Matters

A variety of decisions were made by the convention and the Executive Committee with regard to conditions of membership, reinstatement of suspended state affiliates, and the Code of Affiliate Standards.

1. A mutual and reciprocal release of all financial obligations was worked out between the NFB and the Illinois Federation of the Blind. The White Cane debt of slightly more than \$3,000 owed by the Illinois affiliate to the NFB was reduced by the amount of last year's greeting-card disbursement, with Illinois paying the difference of \$700. It was decided by vote of the convention to readmit the Illinois Federation to full membership when and if the National Executive Committee decides that the affiliate has complied with the conditions of membership and there is no further bar to reinstatement.

2. The Kansas Association for the Blind, which had previously declined to comply with the Code of Affiliate Standards and with a resolution of last year's national convention requiring a full accounting of its receipts and expenditures, met with the National Executive Committee and was directed to comply or to be treated as self-suspended. The Kansas affiliate's own executive committee then convened and rescinded its earlier decision, voting to supply the required financial statement. As a result of these actions, the Kansas Association was officially seated at the convention.

3. The convention decided, on the recommendation of the executive committee, to seat Dr. Rudolph Bjornseth as the official delegate of the North Dakota Association of the Blind. Lloyd Robertson was not seated because his election had been procured by nonresident members of the Association, including George Card. An illegal ballot attempted to be cast by Mrs. Card had been discovered and eliminated. In contrast, Bjornseth was the delegate selected by, and was representative of, the North Dakota blind themselves.

4. The Blind Brotherhood of Maryland, one of the six state affiliates suspended at last year's Miami convention, was readmitted to full membership after it had resolved various problems connected with financial disbursements and fully accepted the conditions for reinstatement issued by the National Executive Committee.

5. The convention decided against readmitting the four remaining suspended state affiliates unconditionally. The conditions which they were required to meet were those formulated and circulated by the National Executive Committee last November. The motion of the convention against unconditional readmission applied to the following four affiliates: Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and South Dakota. (One of the original six, Maryland, was readmitted; another, Louisiana, had earlier surrendered its charter of affiliation.)

6. The conditions of membership drawn up by the Executive Committee with respect to the suspended states were voted by the convention to be made part of the Code of Affiliate Standards and hence applicable to all affiliates now in membership or to be admitted in the future. Those conditions are:

a. The affiliate must commit itself by resolution, bylaw or constitutional provision not to engage in any conduct or allow its officers or members to engage in any conduct inconsistent with the constitution of the NFB, its code of affiliate standards, its existence, progress and well-being.

b. The affiliate must give assurance by resolution, bylaw or constitutional provision that it will comply with the majority decisions of the Federation, on all policy issues. The affiliate must give a similar assurance that it will participate affirmatively in carrying out such policy decisions in the manner established by the NFB convention or pursuant to the directives of the duly elected officers of the Federation. The affiliate must give further assurance that it or its members will not obstruct the execution of such policies in any way.

c. The affiliate must commit itself not to indulge in any efforts to alienate members of Congress or

other public officials from the Federation or any of its duly established policies and programs.

d. The affiliate must commit itself not to indulge in attacks upon the officers, committeemen, leaders and members of the Federation or upon the organization itself outside of the organization, and must not allow its officers or members to indulge in such attacks. This commitment in no way interferes with the right of an affiliate or its officers or members to carry on a political campaign inside the Federation for election to office.

e. The affiliate must commit itself not to interfere with the organizing activities of the Federation or the affiliates of the Federation.

f. The affiliate must commit itself not to join or support, or allow its officers or members to join or support any permanent or temporary organization inside the Federation, which has not received the sanction and approval of the Federation. This general proposition means, for example, that the Free Press Association must be dissolved insofar as it is composed of or supported by affiliates of the Federation or officers or members of affiliates of the Federation.

g. Each suspended affiliate must submit such financial records as may be required by the Subcommittee on Budget and Finance.

7. Although the suspended state affiliates did not formally withdraw from the National Federation at Kansas City, immediately following the last vote on internal matters and at the beginning of the program part of the sessions they walked out of the convention and met at a neighboring hotel, where they formed a new national association to be called the American Council of the Blind. The policy of holding their meetings in absolute secrecy was continued, and numerous persons were ejected. The following news story subsequently appeared in the Kansas City Star:

"FORM NATIONAL GROUP -- Some Blind Persons Leave Federation
-- Discord at Convention Here Led to Organization of Splinter Group.

"Disagreements during the convention of the National Federation of the Blind Tuesday to Friday at the Hotel Muehlebach led to the formation of a splinter organization.

"The new organization, the American Council of the Blind, was formed at meetings at the Alladin Hotel. Members from 21 states and the District of Columbia met Thursday and Friday.

"They agreed to adopt a permanent constitution at a convention to be held no later than September 15, 1962.

"After the group formed, the Braille Free Press Association voted to disband and to turn over its periodical and assets to the American Council, according to Mrs. Juliet Bindt, a director of the American Council.

"President of the new group is Ned Freeman, Conyers, Georgia. Other officers of the American Council: Dean Sumner, Watertown, S. D., and David Krause, Washington, vice-president; Mrs. Alma Murphy, St. Louis, secretary, and Ufemon Segura, New Orleans, treasurer."

8. At the meeting of the Executive Committee immediately following the convention, this resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, there are known violations of the Affiliate Standards of the NFB on the part of a number of affiliates, including California, North Dakota, Kansas, Maryland, Illinois, Tennessee, Oregon, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Wisconsin and South Dakota; and

"Whereas, some of these violations have consisted of: supplying officers, members, and known supporters of the Free Press Association and the Braille Free Press; of providing financial contributions to the Free Press Association or to George Card in his year-long campaign of disruption, vilification, and character assassination; of attacks on the Federation's legislative program and the legislative programs of its affiliates made before members of Congress and state legislatures; of attacks on the officers and programs of the NFB outside the NFB;

"Now therefore be it resolved by the Executive Committee of the NFB, meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, July 7, 1961, that the secretary of the NFB (except in the case of California, in which case the president) be directed to communicate with these states and others so known to be violating the NFB Affiliate Standards, setting forth instances of activities or persons constituting the violations and requiring them to show cause why their charters should not be declared forfeit. Any assurances which may be found satisfactory by the Executive Committee must be provided by resolution or other action of a regular or special convention of the affiliate, said assurances to be sent to the Executive Committee on or before November 1, 1961. If cause is not shown by that date, the Executive Committee shall declare the affiliate's charter forfeit at its November meeting."

Program Events

One of the liveliest activities of the convention program was a panel discussion on the new federal exempt-earnings provision under public assistance and the means of its implementation by the states. Members of the panel were Perry Sundquist (chairman), John Nagle, Earley (Cotton) Busby and Ed Hill (the latter two from Missouri). The group's discussion was followed by active interrogation and comment from the floor. About 50% of the states implemented the new exemption by July 1, 1961. The new provision becomes mandatory on July 1, 1962.

Dr. Isabelle Grant (851 West 40th Place, Los Angeles 37, California), our well-beloved "missionary of Federationism" from California, delivered a dramatic and enlightening account of her recent world-wide experiences under the title "Problems of the Blind -- a Global View." She dwelt particularly upon efforts now underway to alleviate and prevent diseases of blindness, and toward rehabilitation of the sightless, in the emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

Dr. Jacob Freid, staunch friend and ally of the NFB who is executive director of the Jewish Braille Institute in New York City, addressed the convention on general problems of prejudice toward and among the handicapped as well as on internal dissension within voluntary organizations. He paid tribute in especially glowing terms to the leadership and welfare contributions of our retiring president, Dr. tenBroek.

Nyal McConnoughey, Secretary-Treasurer of the Tachikawa (Japan) Council for Betterment of the Japanese Blind, described the work of

his voluntary group in assisting blind persons and welfare organizations in the Tokyo area. Mr. McConnoughey, who retained his civil service position with the Air Force some years ago as a result of efforts of the NFB, is the only blind person employed in a civil service position with the U. S. Government abroad.

Perrin McElroy, blind public administrator for Jackson County, Missouri, told the convention of his official activities and his success in administration of estates despite the handicap of lack of sight.

George Magers, well-known Federationist who was formerly the director of services to the blind in Nevada, and now with the Federal O. V. R., reported on the success of efforts by the NFB and the Nevada Federation of the Blind to defeat measures aimed at curtailing the state's welfare programs. He also brought the delegates the warm greetings of Mrs. Barbara Coughlan, Nevada welfare director and long-time friend of the Federation.

Reports

John Nagle, chief of the NFB's Washington office, reported in detail to the convention on the status of some 26 Federation-sponsored bills currently under consideration in both houses of Congress. At the top of Federation successes thus far, he said, is the Congressional enactment and presidential approval of an amendment to the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act. The amendment raises the federal matching ceiling from \$65 to \$66, and changes the sharing formula so that the Federal Government pays four-fifths of the first \$31 instead of the first \$30. He pointed out that the victory was "the result of a high degree of cooperation between Senators Hartke of Indiana and Long of Louisiana in the Senate Finance Committee, and of Senators Long and Kerr of Oklahoma, along with Congressman King of California, who were conferees in the joint Senate-House committee."

Less concrete in accomplishment but scarcely less successful, Nagle said, were a series of conferences with members of President Kennedy's cabinet held last March by NFB President tenBroek, Tim Seward and John Nagle. Particularly congenial and productive were their conversations with Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Assistant Secretary of Labor Reynolds, he said. Markedly less fruitful was a meeting with HEW Secretary Ribicoff.

Nagle also noted that significant progress toward the Federation goal of statutory minimum-wage protection for sheltered workshop employees had been made in the current Congress through explicit recognition of the wage problem in a Senate report, as well as through the active cooperation of AFL-CIO representatives throughout the legis-

lative campaign.

The Federation joined with others in securing the very substantial increases in benefit payments which Congress has just given to recipients of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance.

He pointed out that some 14 of the Federation's bills, containing seven basic proposals, would amend title X of the Social Security Act toward conversion of the blind-aid programs into "genuine means for achieving self-support." Among other measures still in the hopper, Nagle reported, are the Humphrey-Baring "right to organize" bill; a "permanent solution" bill with respect to the Missouri-Pennsylvania programs, and bills to amend the vending stand law in the direction of more liberal administration and added protection.

In another convention report, James McGinnis informed the delegates of the California Council of the Blind's 1961 legislative successes -- which he termed "the most phenomenal in the history of that state and probably of any state in the nation." These successes include repeal of all responsible-relative provisions; the establishment of grants to meet actual needs up to \$169 per month, with a floor of \$119; automatic cost-of-living increases for aid grants; liberalization of property provisions, greatly increased medical benefits, and an extremely strong right -to -organize bill (signed by the Governor on July 12).

Other reports heard by the convention included: a detailed financial account, lasting well over an hour, by the NFB's treasurer and Subcommittee on Budget and Finance; the report of the Employability Committee, prepared by its chairman, Dr. Kingsley Price, and the report of the Endowment Committee, prepared by Chairman Bert Beldhuizen.

Convention Banquet

The Newel Perry Award of the National Federation, presented annually for outstanding service in advancing the welfare of the blind, was given this year to Congressman Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri. In his speech of presentation, John Nagle praised the Missouri Republican "for his attitude toward us and our aspirations, for his understanding of our goals and our objectives." He pointed out that Representative Curtis "has labored in Congress after Congress to protect from federal extinction the constructive blind-aid programs of Missouri and Pennsylvania," and that he has been among the staunchest congressional supporters of the Federation's right-to-organize bill.

Two new affiliates -- the Hawaii Association of the Adult Blind and the Capitol Chapter of the NFB in Washington, D.C. -- were presented with charters of affiliation at the banquet.

The late Dr. Newel Perry, founder of the California Council of the Blind and long-time teacher at the California School for the Blind, was honored in a memorial address by Perry Sundquist, newly elected First Vice-President of the NFB and chief of Aid to the Blind in the California Department of Social Welfare.

WASHINGTON REPORT: PROGRESS ON BLIND PROGRAMS

by John Nagle

(Editor's note: Mr. Nagle is chief of the Washington Office of the National Federation of the Blind.)

Some 26 bills stimulated and supported by the organized blind have been introduced in the present session of Congress -- 15 in the House and 11 in the Senate. Not all have had smooth sailing or a clear "passage," but the 87th Congress has seen a number of definite advances in programs affecting the blind, together with promise of still greater progress in the near future.

The most concrete single accomplishment gained by the blind this year has come in the form of the Hartke Amendment to the Social Security Act, increasing the federal matching ceiling under Aid to the Blind from \$65 to \$66 and altering the sharing formula to require that the Federal Government pay four-fifths of the first \$31 -- instead of the first \$30, as before.

This legislative victory has resulted from cooperative efforts by Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana (concerned with the welfare of the blind) and Senator Long of Louisiana, long-time advocate of old-age benefits -- assisted in their case by representatives of the organized blind, who furnished arguments, statistics and supporting information.

The new provision goes into effect on October 1, 1961, and (as presently stipulated) will expire June 30, 1962.

As finally adopted, the new aid provision is a partial realization of two NFB bills, one sponsored by Congressman Cecil King of California and the other by Senator Hartke, designed to raise the amount of federal participation to four-fifths of \$35, and to raise to \$75 the federal matching ceiling in state blind-aid programs. It is notable that our victory has been gained over the objections of the Administration and in a non-election year. In addition to Congressman King and Senators Long and Hartke, Senator Kerr of Oklahoma is to be commended for his support in meetings of the joint conference committee.

Minimum Wages in Sheltered Shops

Again in this Congress, as in the one preceding, the grossly inadequate wages received by sheltered workshop employees had the attention of NFB representatives and became a subject of congressional concern.

The incorporation of a provision into the Administration's minimum-wage bill to cover physically handicapped workers in the sheltered shops was the objective of an intensive campaign -- with both House and Senate committee staff indicating approval of such a provision if the support of organized labor and of the Administration could be obtained.

Not only did representatives of the AFL-CIO express support of the measure; they joined actively in the legislative struggle and worked shoulder-to-shoulder with the organized blind to secure Administration approval.

Discussions were held with officials of the Labor Department, with members of President Kennedy's White House staff and other Administration representatives. Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the NFB, came to Washington for conferences with Assistant Secretary Reynolds to enlist support for the bills embodying our provision.

Throughout the entire minimum-wage campaign, Congressman Walter Baring of Nevada and his administrative assistant, Tim Seward, gave valuable and needed assistance. Congressman Baring introduced the key bill (H. R. 5772) containing the wage provision, and led the fight for its passage.

When the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported out a minimum-wage bill, its report called attention vigorously and at length to subminimum wage conditions in sheltered workshops. Noting that present procedures allowing such wage rates "obviously permit ready abuse at the expense of handicapped workers, particularly in the absence of a vigorous investigation and enforcement program,"

the committee report urged that "more satisfactory standards" be enforced through present administrative machinery but declared significantly that if this is not done "the committee would hope to explore and develop formal statutory standards to assure adequate minimum wage protection for all handicapped persons."

Thus, for the first time in an official public document of Congress there is recognition that a serious wage problem exists in sheltered workshops. Congress has made very clear its concern with this problem and has given notice that it will take legislative action if suitable reforms are not carried out by the Department of Labor.

During the Senate debate on the minimum-wage bill, Senator Curtis of Nebraska offered an amendment designed to exempt religious and charitable organizations from protective provisions of the Federal Wage and Hour Law. He specifically named the Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries and the Lighthouse for the Blind. The Curtis proposal provoked a lively discussion, during which the proposal was described as "retrogressive" and Senator MacNamara of Michigan asserted that employees of such organizations deserve to be paid a living wage. The Curtis amendment was overwhelmingly rejected by the Senate by a voice vote.

This refusal of the Senate to exclude charitable organizations from the minimum-wage law adds force to the declaration of the Senate committee report that whether or not handicapped workers are employed by charitable groups they are entitled to a living wage and to protection of the federal law if they are engaged in interstate commerce.

NFB Legislative Program Before Congress

Fourteen separate bills, containing seven basic proposals, have been introduced with NFB support for the purpose of improving aid-to-the-blind programs under social security.

In the effort to gain approval of the new presidential Administration for our programs, NFB President tenBroek joined with Tim Seward and myself last March for a series of conferences with Attorney General Robert Kennedy, HEW Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, and (in the absence of Secretary Goldberg) Assistant Secretary of Labor Reynolds. The Attorney General in particular evinced great interest in our various proposals -- especially the "right-to-organize" bill which had twice been introduced in the Senate by his brother.

Congressman King and Senator Hartke, who were so instrumental in gaining the earned-income exemption increase in the last congress-

ional session have again joined forces on behalf of the blind and have introduced five separate measures in each house to improve public assistance programs for the blind.

At this date the fate of these social security proposals is still in doubt. But it is fair to state that their success or failure hinges upon the extent to which the blind people of America, organized and unorganized, make their wishes known through letters and other direct appeals to their Congressmen. The key bills are these:

H. R. 5014 and S. 904, establishing equal minimum monthly payments for blind aid recipients; H. R. 5015 and S. 905, prohibiting the requirement that a relative contribute to support of a blind recipient; H. R. 5017 and S. 907 barring the imposition of liens or other requirements of reimbursement for aid lawfully received; H. R. 5018 and S. 908, requiring a \$3,000 property exemption in determination of need as well as additional amounts for individuals with approved plans for self-support.

H. R. 5018, introduced by Congressman Baring, and S. 787, sponsored by Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, would effectively eliminate residence requirements in aid-to-blind laws, and so permit aided individuals to travel freely in search of opportunity without the loss of grants.

SMASHING LEGISLATIVE VICTORIES IN CALIFORNIA

by Russell Kletzing

(Editor's note: This is a report by Russell Kletzing, President of the California Council of the Blind, to the clubs and individuals affiliated with the Council. This is more than a local document. It may well point the way to organizations of the blind all over the country. We are therefore publishing it in The Blind American.)

With the signing by the Governor of the last bills contained in the Council's legislative program, the 1961 legislative session reached for us a successful climax. Many have said that it was the most successful legislative session in the history of the Council, and that it probably is the most successful legislative year that any state has ever had. The reason for this success was you -- all of you who worked to make it so.

Box Score: 14 measures introduced for the Council -- 10 passed, 4 lost. Four bills supported by the Council benefiting needy children and the totally disabled all passed. Five groups of proposals that would curtail the rights of the blind -- all opposed successfully.

Right to Organize

The greatest single victory of this Legislature is clearly the passage of, and the signing by the Governor on July 12, of A. B. 169, our right-to-organize bill. It is significant that it was passed over the relentless opposition of both the powerful Department of Education (it administers the expenditure of more State money than any other department) and over the fanatic opposition of the ABC splinter group. This, more than any other single thing, makes it clear that the Council's once faltering prestige has now been reestablished. Dr. Perry used to say that when blind people were on both sides of a proposal, the Legislature would not adopt it. We have shown, however, that when a measure is basically right and fair, and the great majority of the blind people of California tell their legislators that it is a needed measure, it can be passed even though a few blind people oppose it.

The right-to-organize bill that was passed is stronger than that which we introduced in the 1959 session of the Legislature and stronger, through committee amendments, than it started out in this session.

It now prohibits coercion or attempted coercion by state officials in relation to joining organizations, and it applies not only to the blind, but to the aged and disabled. As signed by the Governor, A. B. 169 has added Section 8403 to the Government Code to read as follows: "No officer or employee of the State or any county, city and county, city, or district who is concerned with the administration of any program for the aged, blind or disabled shall, in his official capacity, attempt to coerce or coerce any aged, blind, or disabled person to join or refrain from joining any organization of the aged, blind, or disabled." The question has been raised whether our right-to-organize bill means anything -- whether it can be enforced. Under the provisions of Penal Code, Section 177, and Government Code, Section 1222, as construed in Adler v. City Council of the City of Culver City, 184 Cal. App. 2d 763 (1960), it is made clear that wilful violation by a state official of rights guaranteed to the blind by A. B. 169 constitutes a misdemeanor punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both.

Responsible Relatives -- Provisions Repealed

Since the first meetings of the Council in 1934, repeal of the responsible relatives provision of the blind aid laws has been one of the most

cherished goals of our organization. Year after year this bill has been introduced in the Legislature only to be bottled up in committee. At last in the 1961 session, absolute and complete repeal of relatives-responsibility provisions in both Aid to the Needy Blind and Aid to the Potentially Self-supporting Blind has been achieved.

We are tremendously indebted to Assemblyman Phillip Burton (author of A. B. 729 and A. B. 730) and Senator Richard Richards (author of S. B. 136) for helping us to obtain this second great victory. Although a very substantial liberalization was obtained for the Old Age Assistance program, relatives responsibility was not repealed there.

The repeal of responsible --relatives provisions brings our aid to the blind program one very significant step closer to the goal of being ideally suited to the encouragement of rehabilitation and self-support of recipients. It removes once and for all the stigma, humiliation, and loss of self-respect involved in the investigation and family strife created in the enforcement of the responsibility of relatives provisions, and thus removes a significant obstacle to the development of the incentive and drive to achieve full self-support.

Amount of Aid Grant

The amount of the grant for aid to the blind is increased in two bills, A. B. 269 by Assemblyman Joseph M. Kennick; and A. B. 658 by Assemblyman Edward F. Gaffney. A. B. 269 eliminates the \$11 differential between those with and without outside income -- a differential that crept into the law in 1957. Since its inception, it has been extremely confusing and frequently highly inequitable.

In addition, A. B. 269 contained a really striking innovation in the determination of the amount to be granted. For the first time in any state, aid payments will automatically increase as the cost of living increases. This means that it will not be necessary to wait until the Legislature convenes (every two years) in order to obtain an increase -- an increase that usually is needed merely to catch up with the inflationary spiral. Under the new formula, it will be adjusted by the State Social Welfare Board based on the average of the cost of living indices for San Francisco and Los Angeles, as prepared by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The automatic cost of living increase will be at least \$3 per month starting January 1, 1962. In addition, an increase obtained through the efforts of the National Federation of the Blind will result in adding another 80 cents to the grant. This means that the minimum grant of aid in California has been increased from \$104 to \$119 a month for some recipients and from \$115 to \$119 for the remainder.

Since the most we had realistically hoped for was a \$5 increase, this indeed was a significant advance, especially in view of the other benefits and increases that were also obtained.

The fourth smashing legislation victory that the Council obtained was the "actual needs" bill, A. B. 658. It provides that in addition to the basic grant of \$119 per month, another \$50 is available to meet the actual needs of those that cannot exist on the minimum grant. It would, therefore, allow the meeting of actual needs to a total of \$169 per month. Also, as the basic grant goes up with the cost of living, the \$169 maximum will also go up.

The principle that the grant of aid should be a floor rather than a ceiling, and the actual needs of recipients should be met if they are more than the floor was first embodied in the state legislature in Nevada in 1955. In 1957 and 1959, the Council introduced similar proposals in the California Legislature. It is interesting to note that A. B. 658 follows very closely the pattern and even much of the language of one of the Council's bills in an earlier session. The State Social Welfare Board is now making a review of the coverage of the actual needs proposal.

Property Exemptions

The provisions concerning the amounts of real and personal property that can be held by a recipient have been completely revised and liberalized under the provisions of A. B. 1808 by Phillip Burton. These changes bring the property exemptions for ANB much closer to those in APSB, although in some cases the federal law makes more stringent limits necessary for ANB. Briefly, the changes are as follows: (1) Property used as a home is entirely exempt from consideration. The previous exemption was limited to property with an assessed valuation of \$5,000 whether held separately or jointly by a husband and wife. Under the new provisions, personal property is also exempted, including such items as trailers and house boats. The home may be held jointly and may be a part of a multiple dwelling unit, such as a duplex or a fourplex, if the income from the other units is used to meet the needs of the aid recipient. (2) The real property exemption of \$5,000 assessed value is retained. The income from the property must be used to meet the needs of the aid recipient. (3) The previous provisions allowed for a \$1,200 exemption for personal property, or \$2,000 for a couple, both of whom are receiving aid. A. B. 1808 retains these same limits, but provides that it may consist of real or personal property held to meet contingencies. (4) All personal jewelry, personal effects and furniture or similar items necessary to maintain a home continue to remain exempt. (5) A new exemption is granted without limits "for equipment and materials which are necessary to

implement a rehabilitation or self-care plan for the applicant." This represents a significant forward step.

A. B. 1808 does not apply to APSB recipients, because APSB is more liberal than is permitted by federal law. However, the features of 1808 that were more liberal than APSB were made applicable to it by means of Assemblyman Burton's bill, A. B. 730.

Greatly Increased Medical Care

It has been clear for several years that the medical care program for aid recipients was under-financed, and during part of the time severe cutbacks in its coverage were necessary. Two years ago, the Council unsuccessfully sought to increase the state payments for medical care for blind aid recipients. A. B. 1066 by Vernon Kilpatrick will make this program one of the best in the country. It increases the contribution to the medical care pool from \$6 per month for each recipient to \$15 per month, thus allowing a vastly expanded program. Payments will be made for doctors' visits and calls, for nearly all drugs, for all necessary dental work including dentures, and for glasses, artificial eyes or limbs, and other prosthetic devices. In short, this program covers virtually all medical services except hospitalization. Younger aid recipients must still rely exclusively on county hospitals.

The other major advance in the medical field is contained in S. B. 325 by Joseph A. Rattigan. It provides Medical Assistance for the Aged -- those over 65. The MAA program covers blind persons whether they are receiving aid or not if they meet the other qualifications. These are that they must come within the property and income limits that are applicable for old age assistance, although recipients of old age assistance are not eligible since they are covered by another program. In addition to blind aid recipients who are over 65, those receiving social security or other smaller pensions will be eligible.

The program is designed to furnish very complete medical care for those who are eligible. Initially, however, it will be limited primarily to hospitalization and nursing home care for those who need long periods of such service -- thirty days or more. If finances permit, it will be expanded later.

Among the highly desirable features of the MAA program are that county hospitals, in which hospitalization is primarily authorized, are prohibited from acquiring liens against the recipient's property. Also, there is no residence requirement for receiving benefits under this program.

All of the social welfare bills just discussed take effect on January 1, 1962.

Unsuccessful Bills

Of course, we were not successful with every bill, although the percentage was phenomenally high. A. B. 170, our right-to-consult bill, was never set for hearing because we did not want to confuse the clear issue in our right-to-organize effort. A. B. 1518 and 1519, providing for aid increases, were also dropped in view of provisions of other bills. The bills that we fought for and lost were as follows: A. B. 176, that would have provided for a member of the staff of the Personnel Board to work full time on the placement of blind and other handicapped persons in State Civil Service jobs; A. B. 1274, that would have provided a system of licensing for the salesmen of blind-made products to be financed through the sale of seals issued by a state licensing board; A. B. 1508, that would have provided that all proceeds from vending machines in state buildings would go for the benefit of blind operators of vending stands; and our proposal to increase the budget of the Department of Education so that five additional home teacher counselors could be employed. It goes without saying that we will renew the struggle for these measures in subsequent sessions.

Holding the Line

In every legislative session, efforts are made to destroy what we have won previously -- to turn the tide of progress backward. On five occasions, it was necessary to marshal our resources to fight such reactionary trends. In several of these situations, the danger was apparent before any bills were introduced, and we were able to make ourselves heard early enough so that no legislation was ever offered. Even before the legislative session began, the Department of Finance, the all powerful watchdog of the State Government, issued a report proposing the elimination of the Division for the Blind of the State Department of Social Welfare, and the scrambling of its functions with those of other aid categories. We successfully urged the Governor to squelch these proposals, pointing out the tremendous strides that had been made in California under the Division for the Blind and that it allowed administration of aid to the blind so as to encourage as much as possible the goal of self-support. No legislation was ever introduced to carry out the proposal.

A number of bills were introduced providing, to a greater or lesser degree, for studies looking toward the elimination of the different categories of aid and the scrambling of the law and administration governing them. By negotiations and by supporting administration bills; all of these threats were eliminated. A very significant threat from an unexpected source was also turned back. At the instance of the Department of Social Welfare, the Governor's program, as it was introduced, did not include automatic cost of living increases or

actual needs provisions for APSB. All of the strength of the Council was mobilized to protect this invaluable program and the legislators quickly amended A. B. 269 and A. B. 658 to include APSB fully.

Early in the session there was doubt as to whether there would be sufficient funds available to rebuild the Oakland Orientation Center after the building now housing it was torn down to make way for a new freeway. The Council worked closely with the administrative officials working on this problem. Some ill-advised individuals in the Council sought to organize a letter-writing campaign to protect the Orientation Center, even though at the time its appropriation was not in jeopardy. The problem was satisfactorily worked out by the setting aside of highway funds in an amount sufficient to build a new and much better Orientation Center.

A number of bills were introduced providing for subsidies to private sheltered work shops. The Council did not oppose this generally, since we felt we could not speak for all handicapped persons. We did, however, obtain amendments to these bills providing that there would be no state subsidies to private workshops for the blind. We felt that any additional state funds should be utilized in the state-owned shops of the California Industries for the Blind. Our efforts in this respect were entirely successful.

How and Who

How did this phenomenally successful legislation come about? Who was responsible for it? Among the legislators, the greatest credit must go to Assemblymen Phillip Burton and Augustus Hawkins and Senator Richard Richards. All of these men fought tirelessly for our legislation. Assemblyman Phillip Burton, as Chairman of the powerful Assembly Social Welfare Committee, guided and planned the program in this area, and was consulted by the Governor in formulating his program. Assemblyman Hawkins, of course, carried our fight for the right-to-organize to a successful conclusion. Senator Richards not only introduced one of the responsible-relatives repeal bills, but also skillfully handled our right-to-organize bill from the floor of the Senate.

Despite the invaluable assistance of these legislators, the real credit for this legislative victory must go to you -- to you the leaders and members of the Council. It was your talks with your legislators, your letters and wires, your visits to the Legislature that did the trick. Let me quote here a letter I received from Assemblyman Burton only a day or two ago: "Dear Russ: Thank you for the kind words contained in your letter of recent date with reference to my efforts in the developing of an effective Social Welfare program. I should like to take this

time to extend my deepest congratulations to you and the officers and members of the California Council for their effort and effective leadership in the development of our Social Welfare Program for this year. It would have been impossible to achieve the results obtained in the 1961 session without the support of the Council and those that it represents.

"The rank and file support received by the Council and their communicating with my colleagues in the Legislature was in great measure responsible for our success this session. I should like to pay particular tribute to Jack Fletcher whose patience and untiring effort was invaluable in the days and nights when the success of the Welfare program hung in the balance.

"I am looking forward to working with the California Council building on the progress that we made this year and developing an even finer program in the future."

Our work which resulted so successfully started long before the legislative session began. We designated three items of our program concerning which we would talk to the assemblymen and senators from our home districts. Although participation in this program was far from complete, the chapters that followed through on it found it extremely interesting and successful. The three items that we discussed with the legislators at home were the right-to-organize bills, the repeal of the responsible-relatives provisions, and actual needs for aid recipients -- all of which were adopted by the Legislature. The pattern for the future is clear.

At the same time, your Council officers met with the Department of Education and the Department of Social Welfare so as to develop common positions on legislation. As is now well known, this resulted in the inclusion of most of our legislative proposals in the Governor's welfare program and largely assisted in obtaining its passage.

A great deal of credit must go to Jack Fletcher for his extremely effective work in the Legislature. Also, a dozen Council members spent at least one day and several spent two or three days meeting with legislators in Sacramento to discuss our bills. It is apparent, of course, that our meetings with the legislators on the day before the convention were extremely successful, and that this should be repeated in future years. Approximately 40 Council members visited the legislators from their home districts, and later all of us met with the Governor.

Although our success has been history-making in character, there is still much to do. We must begin work to obtain passage of the measures that failed in the last session. We must continue to be vigilant,

so that our new-found gains are not taken from us by reactionary legislation in the future. We should devote our attention to repealing residence requirements for aid to the blind and new legislation that will make vocational rehabilitation a really effective program for placing blind people in self-supporting jobs. The battles in the future will no doubt be just as hard fought as those we have just experienced. With an informed and energetic membership, the Council will continue to obtain legislation to improve the welfare of the blind of our State.

NEW ADVANCES IN OREGON'S AID-TO-BLIND LAW

New and constructive improvements in the state's program of Aid to the Blind were enacted in the spring session of the Oregon Legislature and signed into law by Governor Mark Hatfield on May 31. Specific advances embodied in the legislation include:

1. Recognition by the Legislature that the needs of blind people differ in kind and degree from those of any other group, and therefore that consideration must be given in Aid to the Blind to the peculiar needs incident to blindness;
2. Reduction of the state residence requirement from five to three years.
3. Provision to exempt from "personal property" requirements such items as clothing, furniture, household equipment, motor vehicles necessary for transportation, and personal jewelry;
4. A limit of \$500 set for personal property for a single recipient of aid, or \$1,000 for a recipient and his spouse;
5. No limit placed on the value of real or personal property used as a home by the blind person, together with the provision that proceeds from the sale of a home are exempt if the retained amount is utilized within one year to provide a home;
6. A floor of \$85 per month to Aid to the Blind, with provision for paying all special needs above \$85 without limit (as opposed to the present budgetary determination of need as decided by the Administrator).

SUMMARY OF NEW STATE AID PROVISIONS

(Editor's note: The following partial list of state legislative enactments and proposals affecting the blind -- which is far from complete in its coverage -- is adapted from the July, 1961 issue of Public Welfare, Journal of the American Public Welfare Association.)

Arizona. Proposals were defeated that would have removed grant plus income maximums for one- or two-person households and that would have made it possible for the department of public welfare to waive residence requirements in hardship cases.

Indiana. Claims against the estate of a deceased AB recipient, having priority over any other claim, shall include prior recorded encumbrances, taxes, costs of administration and funeral expenses of not more than \$350, according to a new law. The welfare department was prohibited from collecting interest on voluntary repayments of AB from a living or former recipient. The AB residence requirement was reduced from five to three years.

Iowa. The law was altered to define clearly that a recipient of AB moving from one county to another must be in continuous residence for six months before his case is transferred. Applicants for AB were given the same right of appeal to the courts from decisions of the state board of social welfare as recipients of other forms of aid.

Kansas. Funds were provided for a substantial addition to the Kansas Rehabilitation Center for the Blind. Funds were made available for the first time to provide library services for talking-books users.

Nevada. It was made possible for blind persons to apply for services to the blind and receive medical treatment to preserve or restore vision without applying for AB, although they must meet all AB residence and economic requirements.

New Hampshire. State funds for educational assistance to the blind now can be expended by the Board of Public Welfare, without requiring approval of the governor and council.

New York. Blind workers in civil service positions were given the same rights and preferences for retention upon abolishment of their positions as disabled veterans have.

Puerto Rico. A Rehabilitation Center for the Blind was established. \$15,000 was made available for scholarships to be administered by the Department of Education for training blind people in specialized insti-

tutions, and \$15,000 was made available for the Department of Health to finance a contract with the World Research Center for the Blind for training blind children and adults.

South Dakota. A \$10,000 revolving fund was established for home industries sponsored by the Service to the Blind. Increased appropriations for Service to the Blind will permit hiring a staff member on prevention of blindness and as a pre-school counselor. A law was approved that gives preference to the purchase of services and goods manufactured or sold by blind persons.

Vermont. Exemption of AB recipients from poll taxes was approved. A bill on relative responsibility in determining AB eligibility was withdrawn after it was scheduled to receive an adverse report from the house social security committee.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STORY:

FIVE-YEAR REPORT OF AURORA CLUB

by Marshall Tucker

(Editor's Note: The Five-Year Report of the South Carolina Aurora Club of the Blind, Inc., a state affiliate of the National Federation of the Blind, was delivered by President Marshall Tucker at the annual convention of the Aurora Club in Charleston last April. Because of its broad interest and pertinence as a graphic illustration of organized achievement by blind people through their own voluntary associations, portions of President Tucker's report are herewith reprinted.)

The South Carolina Aurora Club of the Blind has indeed justified its five-year life, displaying an enviable record of accomplishment attained with a minimum of resources and means. The outstanding successes of the Club during the past five years have been due to the leadership and dedication of its leaders and to the cooperation and ambition of its rank-and-file members.

Prior to the formation of the SCACB, little or no collective effort was made to educate the public concerning the capabilities of the blind as well as their real limitations. The Club's efforts to improve the relationship and understanding between the sighted public and the blind has been concentrated in personal appearances of speakers, in conventions, and in various publications. Greater public acceptance of the blind as they really are is thus being achieved slowly but surely.

Leaders of the Club at its inception recognized the need of sponsoring and supporting worthwhile and helpful legislation. Accordingly, Club leaders have appeared before legislative bodies, presenting at first hand the views of the blind themselves. It is felt that the blind must act as their own spokesmen, and must themselves bring their aspirations to the attention of legislatures as well as of the wider public.

While the promotion of public education and legislation has met with appreciable success, the Club has not limited its efforts to these fields. Recognizing that some blind individuals, because of insecurity and economic instability, frequently experience difficulty in securing loans, a special personal loan fund was established. This is the only fund of its type in the state, making possible interest-free loans which have benefited many blind persons.

Shortly after the formation of the SCACB in 1956, the members voted to affiliate with the National Federation of the Blind, the only national organization of the civilian blind. The newly formed state organization felt the need for associating itself with the national body, just as local Lions Clubs all over the world make up Lions International.

Our state organization had a very modest if not humble beginning. In April, 1956, some 70 persons assembled in Columbia for the election of state officers and directors. The new state organization was in many respects on trial from the standpoint of the well-established institutions and agencies doing work for the blind. Acceptance was slow; but today we are proud to have become a full-fledged and respected member of this family.

In July of 1956, the new Aurora Club president, Donald Capps, represented us along with others at the convention of the National Federation of the Blind in San Francisco. During this convention our organization received its charter of affiliation with the NFB.

The year 1957 was a highly successful one for the Club. In January a new world opened up for Archie Nunnery because of the Club's efforts. Leaders and friends of the Club were successful in securing a long-sought location in the Richland County Courthouse in Columbia for a concession stand. The business venture was financed by a loan to the Club for Ways and Means for the Blind. Archie Nunnery, now in his fifth year at the stand, has operated it superbly. He has enjoyed being an independent businessman and has served the Club well as an ambassador of good will.

During the 1957 term of the State General Assembly, a bill sponsored by the Club was introduced which provided for an extra exemption

for the blind on their state income taxes. This was the first legislative effort of the Club. Since the bill was introduced late in the session, it was not acted upon immediately. But in the following year the bill was given a hearing by the appropriate legislative committee, with Club leaders appearing in its behalf. In 1958, the measure was passed by both houses and signed into law by the governor.

In April, 1957, a most successful state convention was held in Charleston. It marked the first time in South Carolina that a state-wide organization of the blind had held a convention at a commercial hotel.

In May of that year the Club participated in National White Cane Week for the first time. The venture was a successful one, with the organization realizing \$1,000 in profits from its initial campaign.

1958 was another good year for the Aurora Club. It had now stabilized itself and was clearly on its way to becoming a real instrument of effective action for the blind citizens of the state. Among other things, the Club enjoyed another successful White Cane Week.

October, 1958 is a memorable month for many of us, but most specially for Lois Bolton; for it was the beginning of what was to become nationally known as the "Lois Bolton story." After more than two years of planning, Lois decided to enter Braille switchboard training, and enrolled at the Minneapolis Society for the Blind.

Running true to form, Lois completed the training in record-breaking time. The Club made the arrangements for Lois to enter the Minneapolis school and assisted her financially. The climax of the story was deferred until the following year, when after six months of diligent preliminary work, Lois was employed as the state's first Braille switchboard operator, in a Columbia store.

Meanwhile, 1959 was to be a banner year for the Aurora Club on other fronts. During its first three years it had received considerable publicity through the news media, as well as through its own publications and national periodicals. Its prestige was growing by leaps and bounds. Perhaps our most successful convention was that held in Columbia in April, 1959, probably the largest gathering of the blind in the state's history. Ken Jernigan, director of the Iowa Commission for the Blind and then First Vice President of the NFB, was the convention banquet speaker. The Club's annual service award was presented to its real friend and ally, Dr. W. Laurens Walker, superintendent of the state school for the deaf and blind.

The Club again enjoyed legislative success in 1959, with the General

Assembly approving a concurrent resolution to the effect that the state's vending-stand law is mandatory rather than permissive with respect to giving the blind first consideration for concession rights in all state-supported buildings and parks.

In July, 1959, our state president, Donald Capps, was elected Second Vice President of the NFB during the national convention at Santa Fe, New Mexico. During the convention, President Capps, acting on behalf of Hubert E. Smith of Ways and Means for the Blind, presented a \$1,000 bond to the NFB's endowment fund.

The Club's year was closed out on a highly successful note. Just before the new year the Legislative Committee of the SCACB appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the State House of Representatives, seeking an increased appropriation for aid to the needy blind. During the 1960 legislative term, our efforts were rewarded with an appropriation of \$250,000 -- exactly \$26,000 more than had been requested by the state director for aid to the blind. This was a clear-cut demonstration of the blind helping themselves, with the Aurora Club leading the way. The additional appropriation resulted in an increase to all recipients of aid to the needy blind.

Greenville was the site of our highly successful 1960 state convention. The banquet speaker was John W. Taylor, assistant director of the Iowa Commission for the Blind and formerly Washington representative of the NFB (subsequently to be elected as First Vice President). Marshall Tucker succeeded Donald Capps as president of the SCACB. As in previous years, the 1960 White Cane Week campaign was a resounding success, with profits again topping the \$1,000 mark.

This brings us to the 1961 season, which has begun with a rush. January 31, 1961 was a red-letter day for the Club. On this date our Legislative Committee appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the State House of Representatives to request an appropriation of \$300,000 for aid to the needy blind. This amount was \$50,000 in excess of what had been requested by State Director Arthur B. Rivers. Furthermore, we believe it is the largest amount ever requested by the South Carolina blind themselves. At this writing, much to our delight and pride, both the House and Senate have approved our request in full.

Hundreds, even thousands, of personal kindnesses and services of one member to another have had to be omitted from this report. However, these individual actions have been as effective as any other factor in the over-all success of our beloved organization. May we all work and strive for even greater success during the next five years and for all the years to come. With God's help and with our fine mem-

bership, we shall not fail.

BROTHERS . . . AND OTHERS

Aurora Club Presents Donald C. Capps Award: The first annual Donald C. Capps Award of South Carolina's Aurora Club (see "South Carolina Story," above) was presented this year to John L. Cooley of Spartanburg at ceremonies accompanying the annual state convention of the Aurora Club. As reported in the Palmetto Auroran (May 1961), Club President Marshall Tucker made the following significant remarks concerning the newly established award:

"I cannot say enough for the man for whom the award was named. During the four years in which Mr. Capps was president of the SCACB, an extremely high standard of leadership prevailed. . . . The blind of South Carolina recognize fully the need of such vigorous and dedicated leadership, and it is indeed fitting that a man like Mr. Hubert E. Smith of Augusta, Georgia, should wish to honor the possessor of such characteristics.

"At the January meeting of our Executive Committee and Board of Directors, Mr. Marvin Derrick presented a most generous and timely offer. Mr. Hubert E. Smith, President of Ways and Means for the Blind of Augusta, Georgia, wanted to make available to the SCACB a cash gift of \$50 for the purpose of giving an award to the most outstanding person in South Carolina doing work for the blind. Needless to say, the Board members accepted this offer with heartfelt gratitude. . . .

"It is appropriate that Mr. John L. Cooley should receive the first annual Donald C. Capps award. Mr. Cooley's devotion to the Club is in itself most inspirational. He has missed only four meetings of the Spartanburg Chapter in ten years. Mr. Cooley is a veritable storehouse of information, and he has put this information to use in such activities as the chairmanship of the White Cane Week Committee, authorship of the pamphlet 'What is the SCACB,' and writing spot announcements concerning blindness for radio use. Space does not permit full information concerning Mr. Cooley's individual acts of kindness in behalf of his fellow blind, but they are indeed many . . ."

* * * * *

1961 Social Security Amendments: President Kennedy has signed into law the Social Security Amendments of 1961, which include the following additions to the existing program: (1) Increase for nine months commencing October 1, 1961, Federal contribution to Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. States paying average monthly benefits of \$66 will receive an additional 80 cents per month per recipient on these programs. The Federal share of 4/5 will be increased one dollar to include the first \$31. The matching ceiling was also raised one dollar to \$66. (2) Liberalize the earned-income limitation of retired persons. Currently, a retired person may receive his full benefit if his income does not exceed \$1,200. For the next \$300 earned his benefit is reduced on a 50-50 basis. The amendment increases this to \$500 before the dollar for dollar reduction ensues. (3) Extend for two years the election of coverage by state and local employees who did not elect coverage previously. (4) Advance to 1962 the increased tax rate of 1/8 of 1 per cent each for employees and employers, and by 3/16 of 1 per cent for the self-employed.

* * * * *

Kennedy Cites Two Blind Students (from The Lutheran Companion, June 14, 1961):

"I just felt so humbly privileged to be sitting there," said Cheryl Martin, a blind Lutheran college student, after receiving \$500 from President John F. Kennedy.

"Miss Martin, 22, of Mansfield, Ohio, and Miss Helen Aareskjold, 22, of Brooklyn, New York, also Lutheran, were two of three blind graduating college students selected for the \$500 awards given by Recordings for the Blind, Inc.

"They are excellent examples for all Americans," President Kennedy said, "and I am happy to have them here." . . .

"The award winners represented over 2,000 blind collegians and students in adult education throughout the nation who are aided in their studies by recorded textbooks provided free by the non-profit organization which records educational materials only."

* * * * *

Blind Californian Routs Thief (from the Oakland, California Tribune July 17, 1961):

"Stanley Zecker, 52, had the advantage over the burglar.

"Darkness makes no difference to him. He is blind.

"Zecker was reading in bed early Sunday morning at 1110 Francisco St. He was reading Braille. No lights were on.

"When he heard a noise in his kitchen he got up to investigate. He bumped into a small desk and realized it had been moved from its accustomed place.

"Reaching out his hands he felt the head of a man who apparently had started in through a window.

"What are you doing here?' Zecker exclaimed.

"He hit the man on the head with his fist,

"The would-be burglar fled."

* * * * *

State Welfare Board Scores Newburgh Plan. (The following item appeared in From the State Capitols, a journal of legislative analysis, issue of August 1, 1961)

New York: A resolution adopted by the New York State Board of Social Welfare, meeting in Saranac Lake, requested State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz to take legal action seeking to prevent the city of Newburgh from enforcing its widely publicized new welfare code.

The board contended many provisions of the 13-point Newburgh program, ordered into effect July 15, are illegal. It expressed belief that their unchallenged application would endanger federal welfare grants of \$200 million to New York State this year.

Under the Newburgh plan, unwed mothers who have additional children will be stricken from relief rolls. Relief recipients, except the disabled, blind and aged, will be limited to three months' aid per year. No family's relief check will be higher than the take-home pay of the lowest paid city employee with a similar-sized family.

The board earlier adopted another resolution approving action taken by its executive committee in directing Newburgh city officials not to put the code into effect. That directive was disregarded by Newburgh.

The board also issued a statement characterizing certain portions of the Newburgh code as "inhuman and indecent." It said most of the

13 points were illegal and the rest unnecessary.

"We especially deplore," it said, "the spectacle of public officials' threatening to violate the laws they swore to administer and publicizing the program of violations they intend to carry out and the devices they propose to use to deny certain citizens their constitutional rights -- and receiving support from certain sources.

"The social welfare laws of this state have evolved over the years and reflect the cumulative wisdom and experience of successive legislatures and the wishes of the constituencies they represent. The legislative history of the law, with the annual amendments and changes suggested by this board and its department, illustrates our concern that the law be responsive to public demand for improvement.

"Every citizen has the right to seek changes in the law. No citizen, however, has the right to encourage or advocate breaking the law."

August 1961

ARIZONA WELFARE CHIEF ATTACKS
BLIND-AID INCOME PROVISION

(Editor's note: The following article is reprinted in its entirety from the Arizona Republic, August 4, 1961)

The state welfare commissioner yesterday recommended that Arizona reject federal funds for the blind.

To continue getting the federal aid after June, 1962, Commissioner Fen Hildreth told the state welfare board, Arizona would have to comply with a federal requirement that increased federal-state welfare payments be extended to blind persons with substantial private income.

Hildreth's recommendation met immediate resistance from one welfare board member, Dix Price of Phoenix, and from Joseph R. Morrell, Jr., San Francisco, a regional representative of the U. S. Bureau of Public Assistance.

Morrell, an onlooker at the welfare board meeting, said: "We hate to see any regression in these programs."

Price asserted that Hildreth's recommendation raised a delicate "philosophic point" likely to be seized upon by persons who would like to see all federal aid programs eliminated from Arizona.

Hildreth replied he is not opposed to all federal aid. He said he believes it has a proper place in some welfare programs, such as aid to dependent children and old age assistance.

But going along with the federal-aid program for the blind would cost Arizona an additional \$60,000 to \$70,000 a year, Hildreth estimated. He added that this would establish "a public assistance subsidy to a special class of employed handicapped citizens which is not extended to other handicapped citizens."

Heretofore, Hildreth explained, persons receiving aid to the blind have been allowed to earn up to \$50 a month without a corresponding reduction in their welfare grants. Hildreth said this exemption of the first \$50 of earned income is a worthwhile incentive to employment of the blind.

But recent federal legislation increased the exemption to the first \$85 of earned income plus half of all additional earned income, Hildreth reported.

This would require Arizona to increase its present grants to some employed blind persons and extend grants to some self-supporting blind persons not now on welfare rolls, Hildreth said.

By rejecting federal funds for the blind, he added, Arizona could retain the \$50 exemption and continue maximum monthly grants of \$90 to aid to the blind cases. The additional annual cost to the state would be \$30,000, compared with \$60,000 to \$70,000 under the federal program, Hildreth said.

He said the following steps, subject to enabling legislation, would be necessary.

1. Transfer of aid to the blind cases eligible for federal-aid old age assistance to old age assistance rolls, where their \$80 monthly old age grants could be augmented with \$10 a month in state money. (This would care for about 81 per cent of Arizona's 866 aid to the blind cases.)
2. Appropriation of straight state funds at a maximum rate of \$90 a month for the remaining 19 per cent of Arizona aid to the blind cases not eligible for old age assistance.

The latter group includes 35 reservation Indians. If the legislature did not see fit to alter its present policy against extending straight state aid to reservation Indians, the 35 would have to seek support from the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Hildreth said.

"The Bureau of Public Assistance would be quite unhappy to see even a small group disadvantaged," said Morrell.

In reply to a statement by Hildreth that the blind are a well-organized special interest group which exerts heavy pressure on Congress and will do the same to state officials, Price said:

"I for one believe in supporting Congress once it has acted. . . . Without federal aid, we won't have a welfare program."

On Price's motion, the welfare board agreed to confer with its advisory board on the blind before acting on Hildreth's recommendation.

Hildreth also told the welfare board he probably will recommend a slight increase in October in general relief grants direct from state funds, even at the risk of requiring a supplemental appropriation

from the legislature.

Hildreth said April, May and June cuts in direct relief grants were not fully restored when the new fiscal year began July 1, and some hardship seems to have resulted.

ORGANIZED BLIND SPOKESMAN DEFENDS INCREASED EXEMPTION

(Editor's note: In view of the disparaging statements made by Arizona's Commissioner of Welfare with reference to the newly enacted federal provision for increased exemptions of earned income -- see article above -- it should be of interest to compare these statements with the expressed opinion of the organized blind themselves. Following is an extract from testimony submitted at hearings of the United States Senate Finance Committee, June 30, 1960, by John Nagle, chief of the Washington office of the National Federation of the Blind.)

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is John F. Nagle. I am the representative of the National Federation of the Blind in Washington. According to figures contained in the May-June Social Security Bulletin, a publication of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there were 108,644 blind aid recipients in the United States in February of this year.

How many of these men and women, though blind, though able and willing to work, will be on public assistance the rest of their lives?

How many of them, physically able to work, filled with the overwhelming desire to work, must continue on the public aid rolls because they must eat, must feed their families, because they lack the opportunity to work, are denied the incentive and the encouragement to work?

We of the National Federation of the Blind believe that at least one quarter of these people and perhaps more could and should be working; could be and should be earning their living, supporting themselves and their families contributing by their tax paid dollars to assist in meeting the needs of those less fortunate than themselves -- those physically unable to work.

Mr. Chairman, the bill S. 3449 -- introduced into the Senate by Hon. Vance Hartke, of Indiana, a member of this committee, and cosponsored by Hon. Paul Douglas, of Illinois, also a member of this committee, and 15 other distinguished members of the Senate -- this bill, S. 3449,

would amend title X of the Social Security Act so as to make of this title, the blind aid section of the social security law, a means by which those dependent upon public aid may work their way off public aid and into employment and economic self-sufficiency.

Although I urge that all provisions of this bill be adopted by your committee as amendments to the social security law, I particularly urge that you adopt the first portion of S. 3449 which would exempt \$1,000 plus 50 percent of the yearly net earned income of a blind aid recipient from meeting his living expenses.

Why do this?

Why shouldn't every cent a blind aid recipient earns be used by him to live on, and if he doesn't have enough, then the difference be met by a public assistance grant?

Why treat needy blind persons different from other aid categories?

The answer is a simple one: Because blindness can strike at any time in a person's life, when he is old and infirmed or when he is young and vigorous and prepared to meet head on the challenges of life, because many blind persons have an employment potential, and if given the opportunity and the encouragement will transform this work potential into wages and salaries.

This very committee recognized the significance of this difference when it includes the exempt earnings concept in its amendments to title X of the Social Security Act in 1950.

Senator George, then chairman of this committee, recognized this difference by his stanch support of the exempt earnings principle in 1950 and because of this support, because of the enlightened leadership given by this man it became a part of the social security amendments enacted into law in that year, and this, in spite of the refusal of the House originally to accept this principle, in spite of the active and vigorous opposition of the administration to the inclusion of the exempt earnings principle into the law.

I would like to read briefly from the report of this committee made in 1950 with reference to H. R. 6000:

Under title X of the Social Security Act the States are required, in determining the need for assistance, to take into account the income and resources of claimants of aid to the blind. Your com-

mittee believes this requirement stifles incentive and discourages the needy blind from becoming self-supporting and that therefore it should be replaced by a requirement that would assist blind individuals in becoming self-supporting and that therefore it should be replaced by a requirement that would assist blind individuals in becoming useful and productive members of their communities. Accordingly the committee-approved bill would require all States administering federally approved aid to the blind programs to disregard earned income up to \$50 per month of claimants of aid to the blind.

Aid to the needy blind, in the judgment of your committee, is not in the same category with assistance programs for other needy individuals. Opportunities for gainful employment for blind individuals are limited and their necessary expenditures are increased by the need for special books, for special medical treatment in some cases, and for guide service and readers. As with concessions and special provisions for the blind in other laws, the exemption of earnings up to \$50 is not regarded by your committee as a precedent for similar treatment for individuals who are not blind.

For 10 years, the earned income concept has been in operation in the Federal-State aid to the blind programs -- but as the years have passed, as costs of living have soared higher and ever higher, the \$50 monthly limit on exempt earned income has decreased in value as a means by which a man may cross over from dependence to independence.

More and more this provision has become a tantalizing symbol of the good intentions of a day long since passed; it has become a symbol to the ambitious blind person of the futility of effort, a mockery of his struggle for economic self-sufficiency, and a steel-jawed trap for the profits of his labors -- for each dollar he earns above \$12 a week reduced his aid grant by that amount.

Though he works steadily and tirelessly in a profession or business, trade, or common calling, to acquire stability and solvency in his endeavors, he is stifled by the restrictiveness of the \$50 monthly limit placed upon his earnings -- and though he may work hard and long, though he may sacrifice, struggle, and strive, he is like a man on a treadmill, going round and round in the same small circle: If he earns more than \$12 a week, his aid check is reduced by the amount of the excess; but to get established in his small variety store, in his backyard chicken business, he needs far more than \$50 a month -- and to prosper in his small store or business he needs more than this amount.

Thus, however much he may try, he remains permanently on public assistance, courageously, stubbornly, trying to work his way off, but never quite succeeding, and finally he has no more heart for the uneven struggle and one more chance is lost to return a man to the normal productive channels of community life.

Mr. Chairman, I urge you and the members of this committee not to abandon the work so finely begun in 1950 -- the conversion of the aid to the blind title from a program offering bare subsistence, to a program by which men who are blind, who are in need of financial help, may receive help in their valiant efforts to rebuild their lives.

THE CASE FOR LIBERAL INCOME EXEMPTION:

CALIFORNIA'S PROGRAM

by Perry Sundquist

(Editor's note: The best possible rebuttal to the foregoing attack by Arizona's welfare commissioner, in the opinion of many, is the strikingly successful record of California's special program of Aid to the Partially Self-Supporting Blind. A state-financed project marked by unusually liberal exemptions of income and property in the interest of full self-support, the California program furnishes concrete and irrefutable evidence of the fallacy contained in the argument of Commissioner Hildreth. Following is a statement submitted to the Senate Committee on Finance of the United States Congress (as printed in The Congressional Record, June 30, 1960) by Perry Sundquist, Chief of the Division for the Blind, California Department of Social Welfare.)

I. Purpose of California's Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents Statute.

California has two public assistance programs for the blind -- Aid to Needy Blind and Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents. The Aid to Needy Blind program was enacted by the Legislature in 1929. In March 1960, there were 13,486 recipients receiving Aid to Needy Blind and the average grant was \$100.32, excluding Medical Care.

The Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents statute was

enacted by the Legislature effective July 1, 1941, and in March of 1960 the statewide caseload was 302 and the average grant was \$114.41. This second program of public assistance for the blind in this state, which is distinct from the older category of Aid to Needy Blind, resulted clearly from recognition on the part of the Legislature of the fact that relief from the distress of poverty alone is not sufficient for those blind persons who wish to have an opportunity to achieve self-support.

The constructive purposes of the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents law are eloquently set forth in Section 3400 of the Statute: "The purpose of this chapter is to provide a plan for this State whereby the blind residents of this State may be encouraged to take advantage of and to enlarge their economic opportunities, to the end that they may render themselves independent of public assistance and become entirely self-supporting. To achieve this objective, resources and income beyond the necessities of bare decency and subsistence are required. This chapter, by allowing the retention of necessary income and resources by those of the blind showing a reasonable probability of being able and willing to undertake the acquisition of resources and income necessary for self-support will encourage them in their efforts to become self-supporting." This program is financed entirely by the state and county governments since the Federal Government will not participate because of the liberal provisions for exempt income and property in the statute. The rehabilitative aspects of the program, however, seemed ample recompense for loss of Federal funds.

In Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents the eligibility requirements are the same as for the federally-reimbursed Aid to Needy Blind program, except that: (1) a maximum of \$1,200 a year of net income from all sources is allowed without deduction from the maximum monthly grant of \$115 a month, plus 50% of all net income above 1,200; (2) a maximum of \$5,000 in assessed value of real and/or personal property, less encumbrances, is allowed together with an additional \$5,000 in such property if needed as an integral part of the plan for self-support; and (3) the recipient of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents must have a reasonably adequate plan for self-support and must give evidence that he is attempting to carry out that plan through a sincere and sustained effort.

II. Operation and Results of the Program:

Since the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program began in 1941, the State Social Welfare Board has provided two criteria for eligibility in addition to the usual requirements with respect to

property, income, degree of blindness, etc. The criteria are (1) a reasonably adequate plan which may lead to self-support; and (2) a sincere and sustained effort to further that plan. Evaluation of a plan for self-support by the county social worker is, of necessity, anticipatory in nature if the individual is just embarking on a plan the adequacy of which can only become apparent with the passage of time. However, reevaluation of a current plan for self-support is usually slanted toward its success as shown by progress made toward achieving self-support. Experience has indicated that even though originally a plan may have been subject to some question, the encouragement given the blind person often leads him to more satisfactory results than originally appeared possible. The amount of money earned by an individual is only one factor in determining adequacy of a plan. It is the probability of future earnings sufficient for self-support which is a more final determinant. It is important to consider the length of time a given plan has been in effect. However, a plan which requires a long period of preparation and training may be acceptable even though it may not produce immediate income, as for example, university training which experience has proved to be perhaps the best type of plan for self-support of all.

Whenever a blind person is a recipient of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents, or applies for aid under the program, it is crucial that a very thorough and intensive and individual examination be made of his particular situation. It is, of course, up to the blind person himself -- with such help, consultation and advice as he can secure -- to determine his own plan which he hopes will lead him to self-support. But whether the plan is one which is likely to eventuate in complete self-support or not, is a matter of his judgment and the judgment of the county social worker and the employer. In order to make this judgment a sound one, it is indispensable that a very intensive examination be made of the individual situation. It is not simply enough to say, if a blind man wants to go into a certain occupation, that that occupation is one in which few blind persons have succeeded. It very well could be an occupation in which that particular individual can succeed. This is the clear-cut illustration which is most sharply made by a case like that of Dr. Richard Wilburn. Dr. Wilburn is a blind man, totally blind, who is a successful experimental chemist. If he had offered as a plan for self-support going to a university and becoming a chemist, in all likelihood most persons might have said that this was not a plan likely to lead to self-support, but this would be a generalized conclusion about a plan and in this area it is extremely important to avoid generalized conclusions. As a matter of fact, someone who examined Dr. Wilburn's talents and his individual situation might very well have concluded that his was a good plan even before he demonstrated that it was by succeeding at it.

In 1955 the department prepared for and submitted to the Legislative Auditor a study of the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program. In that study a comparison was made of the caseload as of December 1950, June 1953, and September 1954. Since December 1950, an Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program has been administered with increasing emphasis on demonstrated progress in the achievement of self-support by recipients and transfer to Aid to Needy Blind of those who did not meet this criterion, or who could not develop a more adequate plan. The result has been a progressive reduction in caseload, but also a caseload of much greater potentiality for eventual self-support.

This study also showed an increase in the number of students aided by the Aid to Partially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program, both numerically and proportionately. It should be noted again that this group of recipients (students) is known to have a much higher potential for eventual self-support than any other group.

The substantial success of this department and of the counties in weeding out recipients with low potential for self-support from the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program was made very apparent by the tabular material included in this study. The number of recipients with annual earnings of less than \$100 declined from 21.6% in December 1950 to 5.3% in September 1954. The number with annual earnings of less than \$600 declined from 71.6% in December 1950 to 32.6% in September 1954. On the other hand, only 5.6% of the recipients had earnings of \$1,000 or more in December 1950, compared to 25.7% in September 1954. Median earnings reported in December 1950 report were about \$380, in June 1953 about \$740, and in September 1954 about \$820.

By December 31, 1947 -- six and one-half years after the program began -- a total of 847 blind men and women had been granted aid under the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents statute. There were 173 of these individuals, or approximately 20%, who had become self-supporting.

As of June 30, 1949 -- after eight years of operation of the program -- 933 different blind men and women had been granted aid under the program. There were 316 persons, or almost 32% of the total who had achieved self-support for periods of time varying from several months to permanent self-maintenance.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, almost 25% of all cases discontinued were due to income from earnings of the individual.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, a total of 173 recipients of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents had their aid discontinued for various reasons, and 32% of this number were discontinued because of earnings.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955 a total of 155 recipients of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents were discontinued, 49.1% because of earnings.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, a total of 137 recipients were discontinued for all causes. Of this number, 33% were discontinued because of earnings. Stated in another way, there were 46 persons discontinued due to earnings. Since the state-wide caseload during that fiscal year was 391 cases, this means that almost 12% were discontinued because of earnings.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, 11.5% of all Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents cases became self-supporting for periods of time varying from several months to presumably complete self-maintenance.

During the calendar year of 1958 a total of 174 recipients of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents were discontinued for all causes. Of this total, 30% were discontinued because of earnings. Some of these will have their aid restored while others have achieved permanent self-support. The rehabilitative values of the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents program can be seen by comparison with the results under Aid to Needy Blind. During this same period only 2% of all discontinuances were due to the earnings of the recipient.

In other words, during the calendar year of 1958 some 52 recipients of Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents were discontinued because of earnings. This means that over 17% of the caseload achieved self-support for varying periods of time. It should be noted that for every recipient under the program who achieves permanent self-maintenance, there is a saving in public funds of approximately \$1,475 for every year. Thus, if 52 blind persons achieved full self-support during the calendar year 1958 (and some of these may have re-applied after several months) it would mean an annual saving in public assistance funds of over \$76,000.

III. Summary and Conclusions

The number of recipients under Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents who have achieved full self-support during the past

19 years is most encouraging and constitutes a tribute to the courage of these blind persons. We do not feel that this happy result could possibly have been achieved under the small amounts of exempt income and property permitted under the Aid to Needy Blind program. This is particularly true in those many instances where the blind recipient moves gradually toward full self-support through the practice of a trade or profession or operation of a business or agricultural enterprise.

One of the basic objectives in the Social Welfare Programs for the Blind in California is to assist blind persons to decrease dependency in all of its many forms. Self-support and self-care have recently been incorporated in Title X of the Federal Social Security Act as basic objectives of Aid to the Blind. The provision of liberal exemptions of earned income and property ownership under the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents statute have undoubtedly been powerful incentives to many blind men and women in their quest for economic independence since 1941. If the self-support objective of Title X is to become at all meaningful, far more liberal exemptions of income and property must be permitted by the Federal Government in the States' Aid to Needy Blind programs.

NEW COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

(Editor's Note: The following account is adapted from the Washington Bulletin, August 7, 1961. It should be noted that the new Ad Hoc Committee on Welfare, presumably national in scope, contains no members whatsoever from the western two-thirds of the nation.)

Secretary of HEW Abraham Ribicoff has formally announced his appointment of the Ad Hoc Committee on Welfare whose function is "to appraise and make recommendations on all of the Welfare programs in the Department of HEW.

"This review in the Welfare field is part of a General Department Survey being made by the Secretary, previously reported in testimony before Congress and in speeches.

"All members of the Committee are persons of unusual experience and competence in the Welfare field. They are appointed as individuals and not for their affiliations."

Chairing the Committee is Sanford Solender, Executive Director of the National Jewish Welfare Board. The Committee has already had several meetings and has employed Wayne Vasey, Dean of the Graduate School of Social Work, Rutgers University to assist in the preparation of discussion materials. It is anticipated that a report will be made in the fall.

The Committee members are: Secretary: Mr. Harleigh Trecker, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Connecticut, Hartford; Mr. Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Director, National Assn. of Social Workers, New York; Mr. Philip Bernstein, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Federation & Welfare Funds, New York; Mr. Clark W. Blackburn, General Director, Family Service Assn. of America, New York; Mr. Robert Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; Mr. Rudolph T. Danstedt, Director, Washington Branch, National Assn. of Social Workers, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Fred DelliQuadri, Dean, New York School of Social Work, New York; Mr. James Dumpson, Comm. of Welfare, Department of Welfare, New York;

Miss Loula Dunn, Director, American Public Welfare Assn., Chicago; Mr. Fedele Fauri, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Very Rev. Msgr. Raymond Gallagher, Director of Youth Services, Diocesan Catholic Charities, Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Dorothy Haight, Y.W.C.A., New York; Mr. Raleigh C. Hobson, Director, City Dept. of Public Welfare, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Trude Lash, Executive Director, Citizens' Committee for Children of New York City, New York; Mr. Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Sec'y, State Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa.; Judge Justine W. Polier, 175 East 64th St., New York; Mr. Joseph H. Reid, Exec. Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York; Mrs. Pauline Ryman, Director, Social Service Dept., Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit; Mr. John W. Tramburg, Commissioner, Dept. of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey; Dr. William J. Villaume, Exec. Director, Dept. of Social Welfare, National Council of Churches, New York; Dr. Ellen B. Winston, Commissioner, State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.; Dr. Ernest Witte, Exec. Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York; Mr. Whitney Young, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

THE LAW OF CRIMES AND THE LAW OF WELFARE

by Dr. Jacobus tenBroek

(Editor's Note: The following is taken from the Congressional Record, May 24, 1961. Dr. tenBroek's address, dealing with the increasing encroachment of the law of crimes on the field of welfare and the resulting dangers, is of interest to all blind people. Dr. tenBroek, who resigned as president of the National Federation of the Blind in July, 1961, has been president of the American Brotherhood for the Blind since 1945.)



United States
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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The Law of Crimes and the Law of Welfare

REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1961

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, recently there has come to my attention an address entitled "The Law of Crimes and the Law of Welfare," delivered by Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, on February 7, 1961, before a meeting of region 2 of the California Social Welfare Workers Organization.

Dr. tenBroek, scholar and author, college administrator and college professor, nationally known authority both on constitutional law and social welfare—this man, though blind since the age of 14—is not alone a distinguished citizen of California, he is truly a great and distinguished American.

With five earned degrees in the fields of political science and law, principal author of three major works—the most recent of which is "Hope Deferred, Public Welfare and the Blind"—and more than 60 monographs and articles on social and legal problems of our times, and for more than 10 years a member of California's Board of Social Welfare—Dr. tenBroek is eminently qualified to discuss the subject of his address: the law of crimes and the law of welfare.

It is my belief that the social welfare programs of California are the finest in the Nation due in no small measure to the contribution this man has made in the formulation of policies as a member, and now chairman, of the California Social Welfare Board.

Believing that programs of social welfare should provide not only for the innermost bodily needs of society's disadvantaged citizens, but that such programs should offer a means and a way toward helping these unfortunate people—unfortunate more often through circumstances beyond their control—to return to full and equal participation in the life of their community—this remarkable man has worked tirelessly to translate his enlightened social philosophy into laws, policies and programs not only in California but also throughout the Nation.

Dr. tenBroek's keen understanding and limitless labors have not been con-

finied by the borders of our native State. Leader, and principal founder, of the National Federation of the Blind—the largest nationwide organization with a membership primarily of blind people—Dr. tenBroek, only president of the National Federation of the Blind since its founding in 1940, has appeared before legislative committees in many States, and, for the past 20 years, has become a familiar and highly respected witness before committees of the Congress as he has spoken in support of legislative proposals which would repudiate the social welfare concepts inherited from the Elizabethan poor laws and replace them with the enlightened social thinking of our own day and time.

The address follows:

THE LAW OF CRIMES AND THE LAW OF WELFARE

(An address by Prof. Jacobus tenBroek, chairman, State social welfare board, before region 2, California Social Welfare Workers Organization, February 7, 1961)

Effective March 10, 1960, there appeared this language in the ordinance books of one of our California counties:

"The board of supervisors do ordain as follows:

"SEC. 1. No person shall resort to any any office building, or to any room used or occupied in connection with or under the same management as any cafe, restaurant, soft drink parlor, liquor establishment, or similar business, or to any public park, or to any of the buildings therein, or to any vacant lot, or to any room, roominghouse, lodginghouse, residence, apartment house, hotel, house trailer, street, or sidewalk for the purpose of having sexual intercourse with a person to whom he or she is not married."

The attached sanctions were a \$500 fine and/or 6 months in jail.

The coverage of this ordinance is comprehensive. All conceivable places in town, city, and park are on the list of possible locations. Only the fields and irrigation ditches of the surrounding countryside are forgotten—and moving ears on the open highway. Equally engulfing are the elements of the crime. The city fathers were not content with prohibiting the commission of the act itself. Resorting to the specified places for the purpose of committing the act was made the crime. Nor need the purpose be shared by both parties. An intent in the mind of one of them is sufficient. In this county, it would appear, a gleam in the eye of youth, summer or winter, or the lightly turning fancy in the spring, is no mere topic of song, jest or poem. It is a heading on the arrest blotter of the district attorney's office.

Almost needless to say, the application of the ordinance is not so sweeping as its geography and psychology. Quite the contrary. Its application is selective and discriminatory. Only ANC mothers and those found with them know its penal sanctions. The methods of enforcement are those associated with the law of crimes. Investigation on nothing more than suspicion or gossip, detectives operating in teams, night raids, simultaneous approaches to the back and front of the house, guns conspicuously displayed on hips, unceremonious entry, inmates interrogated at length and notes taken, the entire house searched without any particular care to secure permission, men and sometimes ANC mothers arrested and hauled off to jail—all of this in the presence of the children to many of whom the episode must come as a frightening and even traumatic experience—all of this, too, in the presence of the constitutions of the State and the Nation providing for the rights of individuals, the equal protection of the laws, and the privacy and security of residents in their persons, houses, papers, and effects.

In another California county, the district attorney lodged fraud and theft charges against two ANC mothers, the one for having a man in her home while receiving aid and the other for not reporting accurately the address in Mexico of her common-law husband. The man in the home in the first case was also prosecuted for nonsupport of two of the children. After conviction or pleas of guilty, all three were placed on probation. They were ordered as a condition of probation not to indulge in extramarital relationships. All three were later jailed for violating this condition.

The district court of appeals, and later the State supreme court, held that one of the ANC mothers had been denied her constitutional right to counsel. The district court of appeals emphatically rejected the plea of the district attorney that the court should "tolerate * * * an undefined degree of laxity" in applying constitutional standards in these cases. "When essential constitutional rights are in issue," said the court, "the petty offender * * * is the equal of any other citizen, and entitled to the full protection of the Constitution, not just to a part of that protection, grudgingly given and imperfectly applied * * *". The accused who stands before a justice court for sentencing does not thereby become a second-class citizen, entitled only to second-class justice."

These three persons whose private lives and intimate relationships received the searching scrutiny of penal officials and obsessed attention of the press and public were not only poor and uneducated, but they were members of a minority group. They were Mexican-Americans. Marriage is a conception of the law and mores. What is within

or without wedlock, therefore, depends upon the law of marriage. In Mexico, free unions are legal marriages. They are the form of marriage of the poor, the rural, and the young. They account for one-fifth of Mexican marriages. When the crops improve, religious and civil ceremonies are often added.

This same district attorney has required an ANC mother to submit to a lie detector test regarding her relations with men. This he defined as a phase of the cooperation with law-enforcement officers prescribed by the welfare and institutions code. He thus made submission to the lie detector test a condition of eligibility for aid to needy children, despite the fact that no such condition is laid down in the statute or the rules and regulations established by the only agency authorized to do so—despite the fact, too, that the courts uniformly refuse to accept lie detector evidence coercively secured. The lie detector is a device of criminal law and criminal investigations. Mandatory submission to it is a clear invasion of the right to privacy.

Another California county has adopted a new plan of administration of the ANC program. Under it a special ANC review unit is installed in the office of the district attorney. The district attorney is assigned sweeping new powers. He is actually to determine eligibility for ANC. The director of public welfare must refer every aid applicant immediately to the district attorney, and must also submit for the district attorney's review all information gathered and decisions reached. The welfare department is limited to tentative decisions even in areas completely and exclusively in its province. The director of public welfare must deny applications or terminate aid in all cases in which the district attorney considers that the client is not cooperating. Under this plan, in short, the administration of welfare in the county is effectually handed over to the district attorney, with the welfare director acting simply as a subordinate arm of his office. The State Department, being a department of social welfare and not a department of police, has declared this plan both illegal and violative of basic concepts of welfare.

Finally, in the same county, the district attorney developed another plan. He would charge ANC mothers, as well as fathers, with nonsupport of their children. If the mother pleaded not guilty, she would be convicted and jailed. If she pleaded guilty, as the judge advised her to do, she would be placed on probation—on condition either that she receive no further aid or that she receive it on terms laid down by the judge. In one case, an ANC mother came into court not as a defendant but as a witness in her husband's nonsupport trial. Then and there a charge of nonsupport was filed against her. She immediately entered a plea of guilty and was promptly sentenced, according to the transcript, "to serve 60 days in custody of the sheriff" of the county, which sentence was suspended on condition that defendant remove her two children from the relief rolls within 30 days. The husband, meanwhile, was released unconditionally.

In another case, an ANC mother was charged with nonsupport, pleaded guilty and waived time for sentencing on the same day. Sentence of 90 days was suspended on condition that she pay \$56 a month to the county to remove one of her children from the relief rolls as long as the child's father carried out the order of the court to pay that amount to her for the child's support.

Thus a county district attorney and a municipal court judge have invoked the penal code and the sanctions of the law of crimes to solve at a stroke the human and social problems of welfare. Under pain of punishment and imprisonment they have

forced eligible mothers to get off the relief rolls and go to work—without regard for conditions of health or ability to work, or the need of the children for the presence of their mother, or proper provision for the children's care, or any other consideration of welfare.

What is the proper relationship between the law of crimes and the law of welfare? Are they, as the foregoing illustrations would seem to suggest, one and the same? Or are they, as I shall seek to demonstrate, radically different in conception and purpose—so different as to be mutually exclusive?

What, to begin with, is a "crime"? However variously it has been defined by different cultures, or even by different schools within the same culture, a crime is regarded as a harmful or injurious act knowingly and deliberately committed. But this is not quite enough. According to Blackstone, the act must be more than injurious: it must be "of a deeper and more atrocious dye." Sir Fitzjames Stephens emphasizes "the evil tendency of such violation, as regards the community at large." Not every intentional offense or injury, then, is a crime. Many deliberate and harmful acts are penalized merely by civil sanctions, by reprimands, fines or damages. Neither the nature of the act itself, nor the presence of deliberate intent, suffices to give it the dimensions of a crime. What makes an act a crime is the punishment ordained for it. In effect the punishment is the crime. That the punishment should fit the crime, or that the crime should justify its punishment, misses the point. The social definition of a crime is the punishment prescribed.

The very concept of crime is indistinguishable from the idea of punishment. What follows from a criminal act, in any modern society, is organized pursuit and apprehension, arrest and investigation, trial and conviction, denial of freedom and suspension of rights—in short, the whole book of penal sanctions and retaliations.

I do not dispute this conventional code of crime-and-punishment. Whatever its specific weaknesses or actual barbarities, it is doubtless true that society has a right and obligation to protect itself and its members against injurious actions; and that the police force, with all its faults, is a necessary line of defense. In other words, there is a legitimate and proper field, however circumscribed, for the law of crimes and the stern machinery of enforcement which it carries in its train.

What then, on the other hand, is the law of public welfare? It is quite literally the recognition by society of a responsibility for the welfare of those of its citizens who are in need. The concept of "need" is relative and flexible, as well as ambiguous. In a time of disaster, all the citizens of a community may be in need. Even in a period of "normalcy" and general affluence, large numbers of our citizens are unmistakably in need: among them are the disabled and chronically ill, the penurious old and the orphaned young, the emotionally disturbed and the economically dislocated, those who are shut in and those who have been shut out. It is the fundamental postulate of the welfare creed that need is not a crime, and that the needy as such are neither sinners nor delinquents.

The law of welfare is closely intertwined with this developing concept of need. The modern welfare system which finds its central expression in our programs of social security acknowledges a responsibility not only for the elementary needs of food and shelter, of existence and subsistence. In its explicit commitment to self-support and self-care on the part of recipients of public assistance, it recognizes as of equal value the social, personal and family needs of

self-sufficiency and self-respect, of economic opportunity and strengthened family life. It is aimed not only at helping people in need, but at helping them out of it. The law of welfare is geared in principle to incentive and productivity, to personal rehabilitation and revival. It is in fact less a program of relief, although it is that too, than a program of recovery.

The modern law of public welfare is, to be sure, an outgrowth of the venerable tradition of private charity. But this historical derivation is not very enlightening. It is a little like saying that democracy is an outgrowth of the feudal system which preceded it. Between feudalism and democracy there intervened an age of enlightenment. Between the charity of the poor laws and the welfare of the Social Security Act there intervened a movement both humanitarian and equalitarian, in short, an age of democracy.

There was a time, almost within living memory, when the law of welfare, or more accurately of charity, and the law of crimes were indeed one and the same. Scarcely a century ago, in our land of Puritan theology and rugged individualism, poverty could still be regarded as a sin, and any abnormality, whether physical or mental, as possession by the devil. The constitution of North Carolina in 1862 contained these words: "To know the right but still the wrong to pursue, proceeds from a perverse will brought about by the seductions of the evil one." There was in those days, as a recent author has reminded us, "no scientifically defined method of dealing with people in trouble * * *". These individuals were reflecting the evil and sinfulness inherent in human nature, and the only way to remove evil and sinfulness was through pain and punishment."

Among the numerous and motley recipients of private aid, long after the establishment of private aid in the charity organization societies, there were two distinct and carefully segregated classes: those who were deserving and those who were undeserving.

Among the undeserving were all who were the victims of their own vices—those who stood in need not so much of charity as of correction. The major organization in the field, well into our own century, was the National Board of Charities and Corrections. And corrected the victims were—most notoriously of all through the institution of the almshouse or workhouse, whose inmates at the turn of the century comprised, according to a classic description, a very heterogeneous mass, representing almost every kind of human distress. Old veterans of labor worn out by many years of ill-requited toil, alongside of wornout veterans of dissipation, the victims of their own vices; the crippled and the sick; the insane; the blind; deaf-mutes; feeble-minded and epileptic; people with all kinds of chronic diseases; unmarried mothers with their babies; short-term prisoners; thieves, no longer physically capable of crime; wornout prostitutes, etc.; and along with all these, little orphaned or deserted children, and a few people of better birth and breeding reduced to poverty in old age by some financial disaster, often through no fault of their own.

Thus was the law of welfare, in its infancy, all but indistinguishable from the law of crimes. All these social problems and human bondages which we now recognize to have been associated with the great impersonal forces of dislocation and depression, industrial revolution and urban movement, social conflict and race hatred—all of these were once perceived in the narrow focus of personal character, as evidences of weakness if not of wickedness, of irresponsibility if not outright corruption. In the eyes of the law—the criminal law—there

were no problems of society to be solved but only individual wrongs to be righted, personal sins of commission to be expiated and corrected. And the proper corrective, in all cases, was some form of punishment.

A striking illustration of this punitive approach to problems of economic, social, and moral origin, is to be seen in the legal proscription of vagrancy—as historically applied to those with neither definite domicile nor visible means of support. At various times in the past (and in the present), as one modern authority tells us, "A wide variety of homeless and migratory persons were considered to be vagrants: prostitutes, streetwalkers, mendicants, beggars, pilgrims, wandering bards, scholars, itinerant tradesmen, mountebanks, street fakers, strangers, aliens, hoboes, tramps, bums, loiterers, blind, handicapped, and indigent persons, as well as drunk and disorderly individuals. "These," concludes our authority, "were the motley representatives of social displacement (uprooting) and mobility." They were, in short, the victims of upheaval, not the upheavers. The law of crimes, incapable of comprehending let alone of apprehending the real culprits, could only make scapegoats of its victims.

Nor was it only poverty and homelessness—the nomad and the vagabond—which were sought to be scourged from the earth by the punitive law of crimes. The apocalyptic Four Horsemen themselves—famine, war, pestilence, and death—were somehow to be banished by coercive enactment and enforcement. Edward III, through the infamous Statute of Labourers, tried valiantly in the 14th century to reverse the effects of the Black Death and halt the tide of economic and social change. With the population of Europe nearly cut in half by the plague, the resulting shortage of labor threatened to bring about a decent wage; but the criminal law knew how to deal with such crimes. The Statute of Labourers, prodded by a landed nobility intent on returning to the static conditions of feudal vassalage, laid down the following injunctions: "Every person able in body under the age of 60 years, not having to live on, being required, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else committed to the gaol, until he find surety to serve. . . . If a workman or servant depart from service before the time agreed upon, he shall be imprisoned. . . . The old wages, and no more, shall be given to servants. . . . If any artificer or workman take more wages than were wont to be paid, he shall be committed to the gaol. . . . Victuals shall be sold at reasonable prices. . . . No person shall give any thing to a beggar that is able to labour [i.e., those] rather willing to beg in idleness, than by labour to get their living."

Thus the king and his lords saw vagrancy and movement, wages and prices, the shortage of labor and the surplusage of beggars, all as one problem, to be dealt with in one law and solved by one corrective: that of punishment. Of this classic effort to incriminate the forces of nature and history—to rein in the Four Horsemen at a single command—Bishop Stubbs was to comment some centuries later: "The great pestilence fell like a season of blight, but worse than the pestilence was the statute of labourers." Almost immediately the criminal statute was found impossible to enforce; and so another dose of punishment was prescribed the following year, in the form of a second Statute of Labourers. The upshot of the effort is history: rising unrest, resistance, and finally rebellion—in the shape of the Great Revolt of 1381.

Just as the law of crimes has failed through the centuries to deter the forces of social and economic change, so has it failed to cor-

rect and reform the moral conduct of men. Little need be said of the notorious excesses of the Puritan criminal code, through whose agency moral inhibitions were turned into sadistic exhibitions. But it is worth recalling that this sweeping effort to impose a rigid standard of conduct down to the last detail of private life and personal habit, on pain of the most cruel and unusual punishments—including the burning of deviant females at the stake—failed utterly in its aim. For a complete account of the success of the criminal law in suppressing fornication, I refer you to the two volumes of the Kinsey reports.

Against all these human ills and accidents of fortune—moral, social, and economic—the law of crimes has ever raised its arm. It has sought not to help but to chastise; not to cure but to suppress; not to understand but to punish. Until very recently it had the whole field exclusively to itself: poverty, immorality, abnormality, illegitimacy, transiency, nonconformity, all were the unchallenged subjects of the law of crimes.

And what has been the result? Have the crises of economic calamity, social change, and personal misery been stamped out by punitive legislation? Have the handicapped and indigent, the uprooted and rejected, the truant and vagrant, learned their lesson and been chastened in their ways? The record could not be more clear. By every index of psychic and social measurement, these problems have multiplied and worsened under the whip of penal sanctions and the threat of punishment. Men have not been, and cannot ever be, driven to their salvation—moral, social, or economic—by the exercise of the stocks, the pillory, the lash, the brand, the fetter, the gag, the whipping post, the wheelbarrow, the workhouse, nor the penitentiary.

Gradually over the past hundred years, another kind of law has arisen to contest the field with the law of crimes. The new law of welfare comes armed with the implements of science, the attributes of scholarship, and the spirit of democracy; but it still fights an uphill battle. The heritage of centuries under the old law of crime and punishment cannot be dissolved in a year or a generation. Nor is its erosion a steady and consistent process; for in periods of rapid change and instability, such as those we face today, the ancient attitudes are quickly activated—and the impulse to punish gains the ascendancy.

Thus it is today in our own State. The rising demand in California for punitive and repressive administration of the welfare laws—expressed in the increasing intervention of district attorneys and law-enforcement agencies—is to be understood largely as a defensive reflex. The State finds itself confronted with a welfare problem of mounting and acute proportions which springs from our exploding and shifting population, from the irregular and insecure employment of many of our industries, from the disproportionate increment of minority groups whose ways of life and patterns of behavior seem by the standards of conventional society rudely deviant and nonconformist. Accordingly we are faced with disorganized families and unadjusted persons, with rising illegitimacy and parental default, with all the bitter fruits of poverty and ignorance—and, most galling of all, to some, with resistance and ingratitude on the part of many who fall within the categories of our welfare programs.

In the face of so complex and troublesome a situation, it is a sore temptation to seek a scapegoat—to chastise those who slip and punish those who fall. The easiest way to dispose of the problem, when it arises in a specific case, appears to be not to call in the welfare worker but to call the police.

I have already cited a number of examples of the recent resurgence within the welfare field of the punitive law of crimes. It may be well to give some attention also to its theoretical side: to what may be called the theory of welfare crime and punishment. That theory has been given a very full and articulate expression in recent testimony before a factfinding committee of the State senate. The speaker was a county district attorney; the subject was "California's Aid to Needy Children" program.

To begin with, the district attorney found the prospects of this program quite discouraging, not because it was doing too little to aid needy children, but because it was doing too much. Nowhere in his lengthy testimony did this agent of law enforcement emphasize the needs of deprived children; instead he spoke of immorality, of crime, and of punishment. The whole public enterprise of welfare, and in particular of ANC, was to him an exhibition of moral decline involving an active encouragement of illegitimacy and vice, the breakup of the family unit and the collapse of the character of the individual through handouts from the State. The district attorney saw the effort to aid needy children through their parents and relatives not as a humanitarian venture but as the provision of an unrestricted breeding-ground for the promiscuous and parasitic. Indeed, the program was described as "a social monster [threatening] the moral and financial well-being of the citizenry of this State." The way out of this "miasma of immorality" was forthrightly stated: "The legislature must immediately assume its responsibilities by curtailing the power of welfare administrative agencies, [by] the development of legislation adequate to permit solid enforcement, and finally [by providing] the investigative and prosecution facilities for effective control."

Here then is the legal theory of welfare crime and punishment. Not only are the recipients of aid as a group assumed to be unworthy, deceitful, and parasitic but the sins of the parents are to be visited upon the children, in the form of denial of relief. The very effort to assist the distressed and demoralized toward a constructive solution of their problems, to help repair broken homes and restore broken lives, is itself immoral and monstrous, as well as, of course, financially extravagant. The obvious remedy, the simple and classic solution, is to disarm and discredit the welfare worker and arm the prosecutor and policeman to the teeth: to arrest, to raid, to threaten, to crack down, to punish.

The modern law of welfare is the outgrowth of steady evolution both within the law itself and in the attitudes of society toward the perplexities of poverty and deprivation. There is more to ANC, as there is more to social security, than a stopgap effort to alleviate gross conditions of hunger and exposure. The constructive goal is to increase the opportunities of seriously disadvantaged children for something approaching a normal family life and for those ordinary actions and transactions which lead to maturity and responsibility.

The most striking and illuminating fact which emerges from the history of ANC in California is its direct and intimate relationship to unemployment. When unemployment rises, so does the caseload; when jobs are plentiful, the roster is accordingly reduced. The immediate problem which the program faces, then, is simply economic: it is a need for jobs. But that problem is not only economic but social and cultural as well. For another basic fact about the program is that Negro and Spanish-American recipients together account for 60 percent of the present caseload. Any adequate program of welfare must confront the con-

ditions which underlie these facts: conditions of inequality, of absence of skill and training, of social marginality and of psychological instability, of divergent cultural patterns and mores, and of foreclosed opportunities. These are the people affected first and worst by any drop in employment. They are commonly the least skilled and the least schooled. They are the prime targets of prejudice, discrimination, and alienation. And, finally, they are the inheritors of cultural patterns and styles of family life frequently at variance with the behavioral codes from which our laws are fashioned.

Given these basic and overriding facts, the wonder is not that there has been instances of delinquency and default on the part of welfare clients, but that there have been so few. Even where these derelictions have occurred, fewer still fall within the rigorous definition of fraud under the law of crimes. It goes without saying that where deliberate collusion and willful falsification to commit a fraud have taken place, the individuals responsible must answer for their act in the same manner and in the same degree as others in similar situations. But there are two sides to this constitutional coin: equal protection of the laws requires that welfare offenders and their children not be singled out for special punishments or made the victims of discriminatory ordinances designed and executed peculiarly for them.

Equal protection of the law, the right to privacy, the right of self-expression, of voluntary movement, of personal liberty, of human dignity—it is of these essential elements, these articles of democratic faith, that the modern philosophy of welfare is composed. In the end the commitment to welfare goals is no more than a rededication to those humane aspirations, that optimistic faith in the potential of man, which our Bill of Rights embodies. Viewed in the light of this honorable lineage, there is nothing obscure or mysterious about the conflict between the law of welfare and the law of crimes. For the latter, with its accouterments of power and psychology of

coercion, has always been at odds with the spirit of liberal democracy. The great events in the history of the evolution of our form of Government have been the moments of successful challenge of the police power: the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the protection of habeas corpus, the presumption of innocence, the right of trial, the slow accretion of barriers against searches and seizures, arbitrary arrest and invasion of privacy. These are the cornerstones of the civilized structure we inhabit today—whose newest expression is the modern law of welfare. But the law of crimes has ever displayed an irresistible tendency to tear that structure down, or, failing that, to blight and stunt its further growth. The Constitution of the United States, and the constitutions of our several States, are replete with recognitions of this inveterate tendency of the police power, and with systematic efforts to limit its aggressive ambition.

Here are a few of the protections which our constitutions have interposed between the citizen and the coercive powers of the State: the freedoms of speech and the press, of religious belief, of petition and assembly; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the right to a speedy and fair trial; the right to counsel, and the right of immunity from compulsory self-incrimination; the right of habeas corpus; the right of immunity from peonage and slavery; the right to be immune from double jeopardy, and from bills of attainder; the right to inspect and use documents; the freedom from arbitrary arrest; the right to the aid of favorable witnesses and to confront opposing witnesses; the right to bail; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, papers, houses, and effects; the right of immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures; the right of immunity from cruel and unusual punishments; the right of privacy.

These are the rights of all citizens: of the poor and troubled as well as the comfortable, of the petty offender as well as the corporation president. They are not to be relaxed. They are not to be grudgingly

given and imperfectly applied with respect to any groups in our society. The accused who stands before a justice court for sentencing does not thereby become a second-class citizen entitled only to second-class justice.

Whenever these constitutional protections are relaxed—when the police become the State, or when the law of crimes supersedes the civil law and the law of welfare—we take a long step backward into that age of darkness and repression whose appropriate symbols are the debtors' prison and the Tower of London, Bedlam and Devils' Island, exile, deportation, and transportation. For the entire vast complex of human problems involved in poverty, bewilderment and vice, the law of crimes has ever prescribed the same corrective, varying only in degree: That of suppression and detention. The law of welfare prescribes the opposite: Liberation, opportunity, and incentive. In the modern perspective of welfare, there is no single or simple solution to all the ills that flesh heir to, but there is a singular purpose and a common denominator. Economic problems of poverty and unemployment require economic measures, democratically devised and fairly executed. Social problems of inequality and instability require social planning and legislation, as specific or broad-sealed as the need to be met. Moral problems and problems of the mores require education and assimilation.

The common denominator which underlies all these diverse issues and methods of treatment is to be seen in America's second proclamation of emancipation—issued a generation ago by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It consisted of "Four Freedoms: The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—anywhere in the world."

That is the heart of the democratic creed, of the American spirit, and of the emerging law of welfare.

JOHN NAGLE HONORED BY COLUMNIST

John Nagle, chief of the Washington office of the National Federation of the Blind (and frequent contributor to The Blind American), was recently the subject of a laudatory full-length article by the nationally syndicated columnist, Holmes Alexander.

The Alexander column, published by daily newspapers across the country subscribing to the McNaught Syndicate, combined detailed biographical data on Nagle (who is himself blind) together with favorable description of major programs and objectives of the organized blind.

Following the appearance of the column honoring Nagle's work, Alexander -- although politically a staunch conservative -- devoted his column to vigorous support of liberal Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, a strong friend of the organized blind, as "Senator of the Year." Among other reasons for his action, the columnist noted that Humphrey had "inserted into the Congressional Record a column of mine about John Nagle, the blind pusher of programs for the blind."

"Nagle is at war with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and with all charitable groups which affect a custodial, poppa-knows-best attitude toward handicapped persons," Alexander wrote.

He noted that "Nagle has always fought, as he has lived, for the principle that handicapped persons should not batten on 'sheltered workshops' jobs and relief funds, but should use these as a springboard to rehabilitation, independence and self-chosen careers."

Recalling that the right-to-organize bill originally introduced four years ago by Senator John F. Kennedy and Congressman Walter S. Baring had failed of adoption, the columnist pointed out that the same measure has been reintroduced in the present session by Senator Hubert Humphrey, assistant Democratic floor leader.

"The American welfare state has reached the point when Congress must protect people from their would-be protectors," Alexander observed with reference to the bill's requirements of consultation and protection from official interference.

"For years HEW and other public charity groups have used procedural stratagems to prevent handicapped persons from serving on advisory committees for the handicapped," he added.

Especially lengthy attention was given by the columnist to the efforts

of Nagle and the organized blind to preserve the independent state-supported aid programs of Missouri and Pennsylvania.

"A pair of their congressmen, Tom Curtis (R., Mo.) and Bill Green (D., Penna.) have entered bills to preserve their states' systems and to permit other states to have independent programs for the blind.

"This is what is involved in Missouri," Alexander wrote: "The state has a wholly financed plan which exists side by side with the Federal-State program. The Missouri plan is that blind persons should be aided for bed, board and clothing, but should not be discouraged from attaining self-support and self-reliance.

"In Missouri a blind person can earn up to \$3,000 a year, and own \$10,000 in property, and still receive public assistance from the state at \$65 a month," according to Alexander.

He declared that "the Federal plan begins to cut down on the public assistance to people who hit an income of \$600 a year, which is far below a subsistence figure, and allows aided persons to have an average of about \$600 only in property, which is not much on which to base a business or profession."

(The new federal amendments permit -- and in July, 1962 will require -- an exemption of \$85 a month of earned income, plus 50 percent of earnings above that.)

"If Curtis and Green get their bills (H.R.'s 4580 and 4581 are identical) passed, a new States' Rights principle would be established, and a new barrier erected against Federal encroachment," the columnist concluded.

Alexander pointed to Nagle's own life story as the clue to his aggressive attitude on behalf of the rights and needs of blind people: "Kind people, trying to run his life for him, set him to basket-weaving and pot-making, but he was all thumbs and disliked the work anyhow.

"So he quit and worked his way for two years at the Boston University School of Journalism. After kindly editors had praised and sympathized with him, while declining to give him a summer reporting job, Nagle made a living copying Braille by day, and after five years earned a law degree at Northeastern University, subsequently passing the Massachusetts bar exams and being admitted to practice both in state and federal courts. He subsequently earned his B.A. in public affairs at the American International College."

BROTHERS . . . AND OTHERS

New Contribution by Ways and Means for the Blind (from the Palmetto Auroran, published by the South Carolina Aurora Club for the Blind, July, 1961): "Continuing to add to his incomparable list of contributions to organizations of the blind as well as to many blind individuals, Mr. Hubert E. Smith, the philanthropic president of Ways and Means for the Blind, has advised us that he desires to completely furnish and equip the office of the Columbia chapter's Recreational and Educational Center.

"In appreciation of this generous contribution to the Center, the Columbia chapter by resolution has designated this part of the Center as the 'Smith Memorial Office'. . . In addition, Ways and Means for the Blind will contribute a very fine tape recorder to the office to be enjoyed by the blind.

"Wherever you go, whether it be to a distant state or to a national convention of the blind, the name of Hubert E. Smith is known and respected. . ."

* * * * *

Florida Blind Form Credit Union: F. F. B. Federal Credit Union, serving members of the Florida Federation of the Blind, Inc., is the 12th organization formed in the United States. There is also a credit union serving the blind in Canada, according to the Credit Union National Association (CUNA).

This new credit union, with headquarters in Tampa, has a potential membership of 300, Mrs. Louise Wheeler, treasurer, reports. All members of the state federation and its affiliated chapters and their families are eligible to join.

Credit unions are self-help economic betterment organizations formed by people with a common bond, such as belonging to the same association, for the purpose of promoting thrift and providing a source of low-cost credit.

* * * * *

Sightless But Not Voiceless (from The White Cane, publication of the Washington State Association of the Blind, July, 1961.):

A teen-age blind disk jockey with a wide knowledge of sports has built up a substantial following with the weekly program he conducts over an Evanston, Illinois, radio station. He is Robert Greenberg, sixteen

years old and blind since birth, whose Bob Greenberg Show has been aired from station WEAW each Saturday morning for nearly two and a half years.

Format for the 35 minute show includes a five minute sports cast followed by thirty minutes of music, chatter and interviews, mainly with sports personalities.

Commercials for broadcast during the show are prepared in Braille as are scores of sports events and other material needed during the course of the weekly program. The young dee jay ad libs much of the broadcast including the sports news which his mother reads to him before he goes on the air. He selects the records he plans to play and times the entire show himself beforehand to fit it into the 35 minute allotment.

Young Greenberg says he fell in love with radio when he was about three years old. Continuing his love for radio with his interest in sports, he developed the idea of the radio show which got its start in September, 1958. He was billed by the radio station as "America's only junior disk jockey who reads his script from Braille."

Noting that the University of Illinois has one of the most powerful non-commercial radio stations in the country, Greenberg says he hopes to enroll at that University when he graduates from high school. More immediate plans include trying to interest his high school principal in establishing an FM radio station.

* * * * *

Skilled Blind Machinist (from The San Diego Evening Tribune): "The 2,000 parts which go to make up most duplicating machines are literally at the tips of the sensitive fingers of Bob Cummings, 36, of 591 Cochran Street, Imperial Beach.

"Cummings has been sightless the last two years. . . Now he is a free lancer in repairing, reconditioning and rebuilding duplicating machines. His lack of sight in this work is no handicap, he says. . .

"I heard about the excellent work Bob did, so I hired him to go over our machines, all of which were in bad shape," William W. Dewgaw, chief clerk of the business office at the Education Center, said. "I'm sure no person with normal vision could do a better job than Bob does."

"Cummings depends upon his sensitive fingers and his knowledge of the machines with which he worked 15 years before becoming blind. 'I worked 12 years for the company which makes these machines, I got to know them pretty well,' Cummings said."

* * * * *

On July 1, 1961 at its special Communion breakfast, the Los Angeles Catholic Guild of the Blind presented a check for one hundred dollars to Monsignor Anthony Brouwers, Director of the Propagation of the Faith. This donation will assist in the work for blind children conducted in Kisumu, Kenya Africa, by Bishop Frederick Hall. With 65,000 blind children in his diocese, Bishop Hall is raising funds for the building of a large modern school for the blind to help in their education. Substantial sums have already been contributed by other interested groups in the United States.

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THE BLIND AMERICAN

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THE WHITE CANE DEFENDED: LETTERS TO "THE NEW OUTLOOK."

Readers of THE BLIND AMERICAN will recall the article in our recent issue -- under the title "New Outlook Attacks White Cane" -- dealing with apparent efforts by the American Foundation for the Blind and its official publication to minimize the usefulness of the white cane as a traffic aid and as a focus of fund-raising efforts by the blind. The AFB attacks took the form of two separate articles appearing in the May, 1961, issue of THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND.

It is significant that all three letters to the editor published in the NEW OUTLOOK's September issue commented adversely upon the Foundation's treatment of the white cane issue in its earlier articles. The first letter, signed by Russell Kletzing, president of the California Council of the Blind, follows in full:

"To the Editor:

"I was appalled to read in your May issue two articles attacking the use of the white cane and the white cane laws. It seems to me these articles were filled with nonequitors and unjustified assumptions. The white cane has proven to be one of the greatest benefits that have ever befallen the blind. It has made possible the greatest degree of independence of blind people in history. I wonder at the motives behind such a two-pronged attack on this institution. I note that White Cane Week was May 15th to 21st, and about two weeks after the magazine reached readers. I would like to inquire whether these articles were intended to undermine White Cane Week as a fund-raising activity for the National Federation of the Blind and its affiliates."

The second of the NEW OUTLOOK's letters to the editor, written by Franklin S. Clark, president of the "Go-Sees" of New York, observed in part:

"I can report from my own experience that an upraised cane with white and red markings constitutes a signal to the motorist who has stopped at an intersection that I wish to cross, and one that he understands and respects....The important thing, I think, is that the white cane has won acceptance both by blind and sighted people...."

"The conception of the white cane and the white-cane laws, as well, has served a purpose. Now we are ready to go a step further and it will not be at all inconsistent to retain the white cane as a symbol."

Still more positive testimony to the white cane's value to blind pedestrians was submitted by Octave J. Bourgeois, blind employment counselor of New Orleans, in the third letter to the NEW OUTLOOK -- the major portion of which follows:

"I do not feel that the variety of legal restrictions regarding use of white canes by the blind is any greater than the variety of legal restrictions on motorists who travel from town to town and state to state. I know that you and your readers who are drivers of automobiles have had these experiences with various traffic lights, regulations, restrictions, etc., as my wife and I have had when we have traveled in various states.

"I do not agree that the white cane is ineffective in that it calls attention of sighted persons to the need of a blind person for assistance when approaching intersections which are difficult to cross....But, in discussing this question with our home teacher in New Orleans, who hashed over twelve years of experience in teaching newly blind persons who travel with a cane, we agree that the white cane is most effective for use by the beginner in cane travel technique and for the masses of blind people. We believe that the white cane has replaced the old whistle technique which was so prevalent before the white cane became standardized....

"Let us be practical and face facts. The white cane has been adopted as a symbol of blindness and whether or not we live it we cannot escape it and I certainly believe that the white cane as an aid for the blind is most effective for the poor Joe who wants to travel about independently, but does not have the radiating type of personality or glib tongue with which to request or secure assistance."

WASHINGTON VICTORY: CONGRESS PASSES BLIND EDUCATION BILL.

By John F. Nagle

A large-scale increase in braille textbooks and educational materials for nearly 16,000 blind children during the present school year has been assured by the last-minute congressional passage of amendments to the "Act to promote the education of the blind" -- popularly known as the American Printing House law.

The new changes, which authorize an amount of \$270,000 to bring the per-capita outlay under the program from \$35 to \$40 per pupil and to cover expenses of special consultants, are the product of a mutual agreement and pooling of efforts by major national organizations working for the blind -- including the National Federation of the Blind, the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, the American Foundation for the Blind, and the American Printing House for the Blind.

These groups, during the course of the congressional campaign, voluntarily put aside their differences, gave up their divergent amending proposals, agreed upon a compromise -- and then worked

unitedly and successfully for its adoption by Congress.

The new APH law makes three changes of far-reaching significance to blind elementary and high-school students. First, available federal funds will be increased by the removal of the present fixed ceiling (\$410,000) on the authorization of expenditures. In the past, as the needs of blind school-children have grown over the years, administrators have been forced to go to Congress periodically to seek an increase in appropriations. Unfortunately, congressional action has usually lagged several years behind the need, and the education of blind children has suffered in consequence. Thus, for example, when the present ceiling was established, braille books and other materials worth about \$50 could be provided for each student; but as the number of children covered by the program has increased the value of educational supplies to each has been cut approximately in half. Under the new provision, for the first time, federal funds will be appropriated in sufficient amounts and with no fixed ceiling arbitrarily curtailing necessary expenditures.

A second major change in the law expands the ex officio board of trustees of the American Printing House to include the heads of state departments of education or their representatives, along with the heads of public residential schools for the blind. Thus the braille textbook program now gives recognition to the particular needs of those blind children educated in local public schools for the sighted.

The third improvement introduced by the amendment allows the use of federal funds for salaries and expenses of consultants and experts, and of special committees, created as a part of the administration of the overall program.

The campaign for the new amendment began in the early weeks of the 87th Congress's first session. A bill (H.R.39) submitted by Congressman Frank W. Burke, Jr., of Kentucky, and supported by the NFB, the AAWB, the AAIB and the APH sought to make modest changes in the existing law. More sweeping alterations were proposed in an alternative bill (H.R.5872) introduced by Congressman John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island with the support of the AFB and others.

As the legislative campaign warmed up and the issue was joined, prospects of securing any advances whatsoever in the blind education program grew dim. Congress was preoccupied with other momentous matters of state, and the representatives of blind organizations were privately advised that the time was not available to hold public hearings in order to settle the school-bill controversy.

Ultimately, a compromise plan was developed -- offered by the AFB and accepted by all the interested parties. The plan was incorporated in identical bills introduced into the House by Congressmen Burke and Fogarty (H.R. 8207 and 8212). On August 22-23, the Special

Sub-committee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor held public hearings on these and related bills -- hearing favorable testimony from a solid phalanx of representatives from the major agencies and organizations in the field of blind welfare. Shortly thereafter, the subcommittee approved an identical bill (H.R.9030) introduced by Congressman Neal Smith of Iowa, a subcommittee member. The House and Senate both subsequently passed the bill without a dissenting vote, and in the final week of September the measure was signed by the President.

The newly amended law "to promote the education of the blind," originally enacted in 1879, clearly represents a great stride forward toward the goals of security, opportunity and a richer life for the blind youth of our nations.

NEWBURGH: A COUNTERREVOLUTION IN WELFARE?

By F. W. Matson

Since Joseph M. Mitchell, city manager of Newburgh, New York, announced his "tough" 13-point plan to cut down on welfare expenditures last July, nationwide curiosity and controversy has come to focus upon the unusual developments taking place in the modest-sized eastern city of 30,000 population.

The immediate aim of the Newburgh economy program is to reduce municipal outlays for home relief and aid to dependent children -- but Manager Mitchell has made clear that the blind, aged and disabled will in due time be similarly affected. In their relentless pursuit of the goal of local autonomy and tax reduction, Mitchell and his allies among city officials have been willing to violate a host of state and federal requirements and so to cut their community off from the principal sources of funds supporting its programs of social security and rehabilitation.

The Newburgh program was launched following a fanfare of pronouncements by local officials concerning the city's "plight" in the face of rising immigration of "undesirables" and an exorbitant welfare burden. Significantly, the Newburghers rejected offers of help and counsel issued by the New York Board of Social Welfare. "They cancelled that appointment," the state board later reported, "and subsequently embarked on a publicity campaign." That campaign involved such claims as these:

1. Great numbers of "undesirable newcomers" come to Newburgh in order to get on the aid rolls. "In point of fact," the state board has replied, "in all of 1960 the total spent by the city for home relief for newcomers was exactly \$205 and the state reimbursed Newburgh in full for that expenditure. Not one cent was spent for newcomers on ADC in 1960."

2. Newburgh gives welfare aid to "many able-bodied recipients" who should be placed on work relief. But this, says the board, has always been an operative principle in the state, which currently administers scores of work-relief projects employing hundreds of aid recipients. Newburgh itself has done so in the past, "and the 'many able-bodied recipients' affected by the Federal work ruling are less than 10 persons."

3. Newburgh is suffering from an unusually heavy burden of welfare costs and five percent of its population is allegedly on public assistance. Not so, says the state board: only 2.9 percent of the population was on the rolls in 1960; and total costs for all city welfare programs have amounted to 1 1/3 percent of the per capita income of city residents.

4. "Mustering" of welfare recipients at police stations is necessary to detect fraud. "However, not a single case of fraud was uncovered by this spectacle," according to the New York board, "although every adult who could walk was put through this police procedure."

Newburgh, the board's report concluded, "may have some governmental problems but public welfare is not one of them."

Despite the demonstrably flimsy character of their charges and complaints, the city fathers of Newburgh proceeded last summer to set in motion a revised welfare code consisting of the famous "13 points." Chief among these points are: cutting off aid to unmarried mothers who bear another child out of wedlock; shifting responsibility for determining ADC eligibility from the welfare director to the city's Corporation Counsel, with mandatory placement of children in foster homes in case of unsatisfactory home environment; aid payment by voucher instead of by cash; monthly visits to the welfare office by recipients for review of their status; limitation of relief payments to a 90-day maximum in one year, with further restrictions effectually cutting aid to one or two weeks at a time; and a requirement that relief recipients accept any city laboring job that might be offered to them.

Moreover, the city has established, in the words of the New York Social Welfare Board, "a local immigration service designed to restrict, harass, and intimidate United States citizens by compelling them to submit to tests that are said to be 'required of foreign immigrants.'" Such purported "reforms" as these clearly run afoul of federal-state provisions that public aid must be given where need and eligibility exist. More fundamentally, many of the above points appear to violate constitutional guarantees of equal rights and treatment for all citizens.

The central justification offered by Newburgh officials for their "tough line" toward welfare recipients has been that the city is plagued by "migrant types" from the South who immigrate to fulfill seasonal labor demands and then remain in order to reap the benefits of public relief. But the fact is that since 1957 the city has been

officially classified by the U.S. Labor Department as an area of substantial unemployment. In short, Newburgh's problems -- of which welfare costs are surely a symptom rather than a cause -- arises from a cluster of economic and social factors which have become familiar to increasing numbers of American cities in recent years. Among those factors, to quote from a recent study in THE REPORTER (August 17), are "almost every one of the well known urban ills and frustrations that have developed since the war -- a rapidly growing Negro slum, a declining business section, a rising crime rate, and increasing school costs."

The prevalence of similar conditions in other communities across the country has given rise to widespread demands for "crackdowns on the welfare chiselers" which, as in Newburgh, have tended to concentrate on the programs of aid to dependent children and on campaigns for stricter residence laws and other punitive measures. Despite this hue and cry, instances of actual fraud in such programs have turned out to be extremely rare (Newburgh's crusading manager, for example, was unable after weeks of scouting to find a single case to corroborate his own charges). In Cook County, Illinois, after popular pressures had forced an investigation of the ADC caseload, an official report concluded that "contrary to public misconceptions practically no fraud and very little ineligibility were found."

Both the Illinois survey and a similar report by the New York state legislature have placed major emphasis upon the need in public welfare for positive and constructive efforts aimed at rehabilitation and the reduction of dependency as opposed to merely negative concern over supposed chicanery and abuses. Above all, these studies reveal the complicated and deep-lying sources of deprivation which it is the main business of welfare systems -- local, state, and national -- to deal with. As the New York legislature declares in its report: "The single most important problem in welfare administration at present stems from the fact that prevention and rehabilitation efforts require multi-departmental effort -- employment, health, mental health, education, housing, correction -- yet no practical means exist for leadership and co-ordinating this effort."

The broad implications for welfare of the Newburgh "experiment" are not far to seek. In the words of a National Urban League report published last August, the city's program reflects "effort being made in organized fashion to build a pattern of thinking which, if allowed to operate, would destroy a carefully-built system of public welfare and social security that has been over a quarter-century in the making. It would conceivably take this nation back to a set of attitudes which delayed effective attack on the depression of the 1930's and came close to playing disastrously into the hands of international communisms."

It perhaps goes without saying that the welfare status of all blind Americans (not only those of Newburgh) is directly involved in the current national controversy surrounding the aims of welfare programming and the rights of recipients. As the Urban League report points

out, "punitive action which a community aims at one disfavored group -- whether economic, racial, or political -- ends by infesting that community's standards in general." Where an application for public aid, in any category, is met by the presumption of chiseling intent rather than of legitimate entitlement -- and where the solution to welfare difficulties is seen to lie in repressive and degrading "crackdowns" -- much that the blind of America have gained through gradual recognition of their rights to material security, economic opportunity and social equality is immediately placed in jeopardy.

A recent editorial in the Sacramento (California) Bee has defined the issue in blunt terms: "Underlying this attack on welfare assistance in the false idea that in some ways urban slums and poverty will disappear if government eliminates the humanitarian assistance made necessary by these conditions. Senator Barry Goldwater wrote Mitchell the program shows the 'kind of courage that must be displayed across the nation if we are to survive.' The Newburgh style of false and vindictive 'courage' would put this nation right back into the 18th century. Of course that might please the senator."

MORE ON ARIZONA'S "ANTI-BLIND WELFARE" PLAN.

The recent recommendation by Arizona's Welfare Commissioner Fen Hildreth that the state reject the new and more liberal Federal amendments to social security Aid to the Blind (see THE BLIND AMERICAN, August, 1961) has had repercussions within as well as outside the state's boundaries. Especially noteworthy has been the editorial reaction of the conservative daily newspaper THE ARIZONA REPUBLICAN, supporting the Commissioner's maneuver, and a subsequent hard-hitting letter to the newspaper by Naomi Elizabeth Hess, an active blind leader of Tucson, in opposition to the plan.

The newspaper praised Hildreth's proposed rejection of the new federal law increasing the exemption of earned income for blind aid recipients from \$50 to \$85 monthly. "Mr. Hildreth says the new plan would favor a special class of handicapped workers (the blind) but would not do anything for other handicapped workers (the crippled, for instance)," the paper editorialized. "It would negate a basic welfare principle, namely that one reason for rehabilitating a person is to get him off the welfare rolls. If a handicapped person is taught a skill that permits him to earn a living, his welfare payments are no longer justified. Finally, the new federal program would cost Arizona an additional \$60,000 to \$70,000 a year, with some of the money going to people now supporting themselves without welfare aid.

"We wish Mr. Hildreth well in fight for local control of welfare payments," the REPUBLICAN continued. "He faces some important enemies, including a natural feeling of sympathy for the blind.... The welfare state never gets smaller; it always gets bigger. Fen

Hildreth has a lot of nerve, trying to restrain the persistent federal encroachment on local solutions of welfare problems. He needs all the help he can get."

In her letter to the editor published on August 14, Miss Hess dealt systematically and forcefully with the points raised against the liberalized federal program by the newspaper and the state commissioner. Her letter follows:

"Editor, the Arizona Republican:

"The editorial of Aug. 8 on Mr. Hildreth's proposed rejection of federal aid to the blind does a disservice to the controversy by misstating matters and hailing the move as a courageous blow against the encroachments of the welfare state.

"The new federal law to which Mr. Hildreth is opposed provides that in determining aid to the blind, a state agency shall disregard the first \$85 per month of earned income and half of any additional earned income. Mr. Hildreth seems to assume that every blind person on aid receives the maximum of \$90 a month. The 1959-60 report of the Arizona State Department of Public Welfare, of which Mr. Hildreth is commissioner, reports that the average monthly grant is \$72.23. A blind person who earned \$85 a month could conceivably receive the maximum allotment of \$90 also. For every additional dollar that he received in salary, 50 cents would be deducted from his aid check. It is not difficult to see that at the most such a person would be far from wealthy. Also, Mr. Hildreth does not see fit to estimate how many persons would be affected by the new exemption. From conspicuous lack of success that the interested agency has had in placing blind persons in employment in Arizona, it doesn't look as though he need worry very much.

"Mr. Hildreth says that only one group, the blind, will benefit from this legislation, thereby making it discriminatory. On the contrary, blind persons hope sincerely that this exemption will be extended to other groups of handicapped. Historically the blind have been the most vocal in realizing their rights and in organizing to protect and guarantee those rights.

"The federal legislation strikes a blow for the 'rugged individualism' that Arizonans prize. The step from dependence on the aid check to full financial independence is a hard one; it has been proved in other states that increased exemptions of earned income form a stepping stone to financial independence.

"Why must Arizona lag far behind the other states in aid to the blind? Arizona's program is two-thirds supported by federal funds at present. Rejection of all federal funds may cause the loss of all the benefits for which the blind citizens of Arizona have fought so long and hard. Arizona's program, with its lack of regard for human decency and self-respect, its huge caseloads and tiny salaries, and its general

low level of performance can only be helped, not hindered, by federal provisions, which are eminently reasonable.

"Is Arizona going to secede from the federally-assisted program of aid to the blind, or will it realize that the new legislation is in the best interest of its blind citizens?"

THE ROLE OF THE STATE SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD IN CALIFORNIA: IMPARTIALITY AND COMMITMENT

An address by

Professor Jacobus tenBroek
Chairman, State Social Welfare Board

at a

Community Dinner Honoring the Board
San Diego, California, July 20, 1961

What is the role and responsibility of the State Social Welfare Board amid the perennially recurring and newly developing problems in the field?

There are many answers to this question, depending on vantage-point and frame of mind. To the County Supervisors' Association--judging from the published comments of some of its members--we are the sluice-gate through which tax funds pour out into arid and unproductive human wastelands. To social workers, laden with their manuals of case-work theory and method, we are intermeddling ignoramuses. To the staff of the State Department of Social Welfare, we are often a nuisance, always hard to educate, and not infrequently intractable. To our hearing officers, patiently trying month after month to write opinions on the basis of our past pronouncements and likely future conduct, we are what Churchill once called "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." To some district attorneys, who are even more outspoken than the chairman of the State Social Welfare Board, we are moddly-coddly do-gooders who misconceive the true character of our clients and their problems and therefore misapply the remedies. To them, we are a formless body with a particularly misshapen head. To the greater public, when it is aware of us at all, we are only another appendage of the state bureaucracy--an entangling arm of the official octopus, more often intent on strangulation than embrace.

These are a few of the images and impressions abroad in the land concerning the members of the Board and their collective personality. Fortunately for us, those who hold these half-truths to be self-evident disagree among themselves. Else we would surely be undone.

Fortunately also, these various explanations of us do not exhaust the alternatives. The law views the Board with rather less passion and less personalizing--although the latter is not entirely absent. The law

describes us principally in terms of our specific functions. In these terms we are at our best. Indeed our role is an important one in a large and central area of human endeavor. Let me briefly itemize the particulars of that role.

Public welfare in California is an enormous undertaking by any standard --in the complexity and variety of its many programs, in the sheer number of persons served, in the amount of money spent, and in the impact of the whole system upon the individual lives of men, women and children. Financial assistance and related social, medical and rehabilitation services are provided for the needy who are under-age and for those who are over-age, for those who are disabled and those who are blind. The major portion of the cost is furnished by state and federal funds. Protective services are provided through inspection and licensing of boarding homes, institutions and other places for the reception and care of aged persons and for children who must have care away from their own homes. Special provisions are made to protect the rights of children who are placed for temporary or permanent care or for adoption.

At present, there are some 283,000 recipients of aid to needy children in California; 254,000 recipients of old age security; 13,500 recipients of aid to the blind; and 10,000 recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled--a total of over 560,000 needy men, women and children. They are receiving some 456 million dollars a year in direct aid payments and more than 32 million dollars a year in indirect vendor payments for medical care. In addition to the programs of public assistance, thousands of boarding homes and institutions are licensed and several thousand children are involved in adoption proceedings each year.

The actions of the State Social Welfare Board touch directly and sensitively the lives of these hundreds of thousands of human beings. For it is the function of the Board to adopt the detailed rules governing the administration of this vast system of public welfare. It falls to our lot to formulate and put into effect, as the Code says, all "regulations, orders or standards of general application which are adopted to implement, interpret, or make specific the law enforced by the Department." It is our duty to decide individual appeals made to the Board by applicants or recipients of aid who feel themselves aggrieved. Fifty to 70 such appeals reach us each month. This month there are 85. We conduct hearings on denials and revocations of licenses to operate facilities for the reception and care of children and aged persons.

It is also the function of the Board, as some of you may have had occasion to notice recently, to establish and maintain personnel standards

on a merit basis, including standards of qualification, competence, education, experience, tenure, and compensation necessary for the proper and efficient administration of aid programs for which the State receives grants-in-aid from the Federal Government. These standards are applicable to and binding on the counties as agents of the State for the purposes of administering state and federal funds provided for such assistance.

A special word might be said about our recent discharge of this function which somehow has been received with less than universal applause. Last February, we adopted a policy, to be implemented next January, looking to a \$400 minimum salary for social workers and requiring a Bachelor's degree in a relevant and appropriate subject matter. The representatives of the County Supervisors' Association--and some county supervisors--say that this policy invades local autonomy, interferes with the rightful authority of the administering unit to determine how much its workers shall be paid and violates the constitutional position and powers of the county governments. To some extent, this would seem to be a war of clichés. The counties say that he who hires and administers must fix salaries; the Federal Government and we say that he who pays not only calls the tune but decides the amount of the pay. In these terms, the Federal Government, or we as its agents, have as much right to determine minimum salaries as do the counties since the Federal Government pays fifty per cent of the wages of social workers hired by the counties to administer the public assistance programs. However, this is a stereotyped view of the problem, derived, not from its real nature, but from the form in which the argument has been cast. We do not have here, in fact, the situation in which one level of government is fixing the salaries of employees of another level of government. The counties are not sovereign and independent governments. They do not antedate the states as the states antedate the Nation. Though there were eight cities having legal existence in California before statehood, there were no counties. The counties were created by the State Legislature. They are a legal subdivision of the State. They are the agents and instrumentalities of the State Government. They have no inherent powers. Unlike the states in the Nation, they do not possess residual or constitutionally reserved powers. Their powers and their duties are determined by the State and primarily by the State Legislature. In this respect, they are very much like the State Social Welfare Board. They are simply another arm, department or branch of the same government. In some ways, they have broader powers; and, over the years, they have received more constitutional notice. But their origin, their source of authority and their governmental status is the same as that of the State Social Welfare Board.

All of this is peculiarly true with respect to welfare programs. From 1850 onward, when the State Legislature first created counties in California, the State has assigned welfare functions to the counties. In 1901, those functions were greatly enlarged and made more mandatory. Since then, they have grown steadily. Meanwhile, during the whole of our history as a state, the State Government has also--often jointly with the counties--carried on welfare functions. Finally, the Federal Government entered the field on a wide scale, building on the structure and distribution of functions already existing.

Today the workers in county welfare departments are administering an integrated federal-state-county program. Half their salary is paid by the Federal Government. More than eighty per cent of the money they spend is supplied by the State and Federal Governments. In this integrated, over-all plan, each of the so-called levels of government possess some administrative and policy determining functions and some financial responsibility. The functions are shared rather than divided or separated. Thus the Federal Government requires and the State Government authorizes and directs its responsible "single state agency" to see to it that minimum personnel standards are established and maintained both with respect to the salaries paid and the competence of the workers to do the job. This has been settled law and practice in California for many years.

In the controversy over authority, we are losing sight of the reason for our fixing the minimum salary at \$400 and the fact that it is linked to an A. B. requirement in a relevant and appropriate field. The hike in minimum pay is tied to a hike in minimum qualifications. Is there really anybody in this whole broad land who does not appreciate the desirability and even the urgent necessity of seeing to it that social workers who carry out these programs and who do this work are properly trained? At the very least, this is a simple matter of money and administration. The average social worker in a county welfare department spends from \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year of the taxpayer's money. To see that these disbursements are properly made, in correct amounts to persons eligible under the law, and for the purposes and within the limitations set down in statute and regulation requires a minimum competence that cannot be secured for less than the minimum salary we propose.

But beyond money and administration, we are here speaking of professional work and professional qualifications. Anybody can pick cotton--or at least anybody who has the physical capacity to make his way up and down the rows. This, I take it, is what is meant by "cotton picking hands." More than cotton picking hands, however, are necessary successfully to practice the professions; and to secure the requisite knowledge and skill compensation must be commensurate. We require high professional qualifications for the doctor who prescribes medicine for a case of

athletes foot and for the druggist who fills the prescription. We require high professional qualifications for the lawyer who draws an instrument dealing with our money or our property. We require high professional qualifications for the school teacher who helps to educate a normal child. Can we demand less for the worker who deals with human distress, poverty, bewilderment, confusion, with unbalanced, disturbed and defective minds and personalities? Can we demand less for those upon whom we call to help restore broken families and to mend ruined lives?

To the list of general functions of the State Social Welfare Board, two other duties should be added. One has been invoked in connection with the very episode I have just been describing. It is specified in a resolution now making the rounds of the county supervisors. In view of the arbitrary, dictatorial and repugnant way in which the State Social Welfare Board has exercised its power regarding personnel standards, says this resolution, it is the duty of the members of the Board to resign their offices and let someone else take over who can handle the job. Needless to say, this is not only the final duty on the list, but it is the last duty that this Board can perform.

But there is one more worth mentioning. It is our duty, says a statute just passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor, in adopting rules and regulations to "strive for clarity of language which may be readily understood by those administering public assistance directly to the applicants and recipients." This is the unkindest cut of all when addressed to a Board whose presiding chairman is a professor of Rhetoric. Come to think of it, this may be the best reason yet for raising social workers' salaries so that we can attract people into the field who can "readily understand our regulations" even though not written in clear language.

From what has been said so far, it can be seen that the functions of the State Social Welfare Board, as the law prescribes them, are much more than the passive routines of accepting, receiving, endorsing and acquiescing. Its functions are the positive and affirmative ones suggested by the active verbs of formulating, promulgating, reviewing, adopting, amending, repealing, establishing and maintaining.

To some extent, however, the law does personalize us. Members of the Board are, by its terms, to be laymen. At least, I believe this to follow from the fact that they serve without pay and on a part-time basis. While, on the one hand, the Board is a public body, defined in the law as an arm of the State Department of Social Welfare, with members duly appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate; yet, on the other hand, its members are drawn from the ordinary ranks and callings of the community. They are not career people recruited from the relevant

professions or from the State Civil Service. The Code says that "the members shall be selected for their leadership and interest in social welfare activities, without regard for political or religious affiliations or profession or occupation." I take the latter to mean that even university professors may be appointed!

This, then, is the State Social Welfare Board, and these are its functions. The functions are active; they are far-reaching; they are sub-legislative and quasi-judicial. The Board is a lay board; it is part-time and non-salaried; members are selected according to the law without regard for politics, religion, or occupation. In this sense, the Board is a non-partisan body; and in its quasi-judicial function, in hearing and deciding individual appeals, it must act with impartiality expected of judges.

This brings me to a proposition which I should like to assert and defend as a central thesis. On its face, it is paradoxical. It is not readily accepted. It is this: while the State Social Welfare Board -- or any lay board -- must be nonpartisan, so must it be partisan; while it must be impartial, so must it be partial; while it must be disinterested, so must it be interested. In short, the Board must be committed; one might even say dedicated.

Phrased in another way, the fundamental role of the State Social Welfare Board, as of all lay boards in the welfare field, is to promote and defend a vital public interest -- the public interest in welfare.

What is that public interest? It is an interest in the social integration and personal integrity, in the rehabilitation and restoration, of all of our people who have fallen victim, in the words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to the accidents of fortune which beset us all in this man-made world. The public interest in welfare is an expression of the Nation's stake in its human resources, in the rich immeasurable assets of a healthy body politic. Still more deeply, the public interest in welfare is an affirmation of our democratic faith in the freedom and responsibility of the individual citizen. Whatever encourages his independence and self-sufficiency is consistent with welfare and the public interest. Whatever defeats and demeans his capacity to rise to his feet and stand on them is antagonistic to welfare and to the public interest.

In formulating policies and deciding cases, the members of the Board must disregard politics, religion, and occupation. They must put aside altogether their personal connections and aspirations. They may not prejudge cases nor close their minds to the evidence. They may not act upon irrelevant considerations. So much the law and public policy make clear. But the Code also marks out the limits of the Board's impartiality. It cannot, it must not, be impartial or neutral towards the

principles of welfare. The members are selected on the basis of their proven interest in welfare. They are neither ignorant nor indifferent, let alone hostile, in their approach to welfare. Instead they are chosen for their recognized leadership in the field. Therefore, in the vital sense of their commitment to the precepts underlying the modern philosophy of welfare, the members of the State Social Welfare Board can never be impartial.

In this respect, of course, this Board is no different from many others who conduct the public business. Take the judge on the bench: he is not expected, surely, to be impartial when he confronts good and evil. His judgement does not fall indifferently upon the just and the unjust. His oath of office is instead a binding vow to serve the ends of justice. How long would a society retain a judge who impartially sent to jail equal numbers of innocent and guilty defendants? Such a judge, we would agree, is not "impartial," but impossible. That kind of impartiality and that kind of judge we could do without.

What then are the underlying principles and precepts which define the role of the State Social Welfare Board and guide it in the regular discharge of its functions? What are our commitments? Like the Commandments of the Bible -- and, rather more analogously, like the Bill of Rights -- they are ten in number. They are these:

1. No member of American society can be permitted to die simply for want of the physical essentials of life. Freedom from want may therefore be regarded as the minimum commitment, the irreducible objective, of public welfare. It commands us to do whatever may be necessary to maintain human life--including the provision of such specific means of survival as an iron lung for a post-polio paralytic and an attendant to operate it.

2. The basic needs of life are not however confined to those upon which animal existence hinges. Besides life and health, beyond the threshold of survival, there are standards of decency which must be met. The commitment to decency means that recipients of relief must be enabled to live much as others do in the community; that their dress, diet and dwelling shall not be so shabby or different as to render them conspicuous; that their work, their play and their routines of daily living--and most of all the extent of their participation in community life--shall not mark them as a caste apart; that they shall not, in any of these respects, wear a public badge of their status, but rather be permitted to live their lives and associate with others, not indeed upon a lavish

scale nor even necessarily upon an average scale, but only upon an adequate scale. The standards, in short, are community standards, and the level is adequacy.

3. Lack of the necessities of life is one thing. Abuse of people and invasion of their rights is another. In the first case the public must supply the deficiency. In the second it must interpose its protection. Accordingly, it is a welfare responsibility of the public to remove children from circumstances and environment in which there is neglect or abuse, to institute guardianship for adults not able to care for themselves, and to provide institutional care for those whose mental or physical condition requires custodial supervision for their own safety and well-being or the safety and well-being of the public.

4. In American society, the need for rehabilitation and self-support--with all that that implies--is second only to the need for sufficient food and shelter to keep body and soul together. For rehabilitation and self-support for the rehabilitable are inseparably connected with the basic moral, social and political tenets of our system: with individualism, with self-reliance, with initiative, with the dignity and worth of the human person, with equality of opportunity both economic and social, and with full rights of participation in the normal activities of the community. So the Federal Social Security Act provides for "helping to strengthen family life and helping needy families and individuals to attain the maximum economic and personal independence of which they are capable." If the opportunity for rehabilitation and self-support for the rehabilitable is not simply a basic human need in psychological terms, it is in our system surely a basic social need--as basic as the fundamental principles of American democracy.

5. Public assistance is assistance by the public in the interest of the public as well as that of individual beneficiaries. This is clearly recognized by the national Social Security Act and the dependent state measures. The aim, says Sec. 19 of California Welfare and Institutions Code, in providing public assistance to the State's needy and distressed is to promote the welfare and happiness of all of the people of the State. The interest of the general public, the well-being of the Nation itself, is a basic value expressly designed to be achieved and protected.

6. Poverty is rarely a matter of willful choice on the part of its victims. It results generally from the complexities and imperfections of the social and economic system, and from such other factors beyond individual control as disability,

disease, old age, minority status, lack of skills or training, deficiencies of mind or personality. Therefore the receipt of public assistance should be conditioned only upon need. It should not hinge upon the reform or reconstruction of all the moral and behavioral patterns of minority groups and deviant individuals. It should not embrace or entertain sumptuary provisions to be applied discriminatorily to recipients of aid. Above all, it is positively immoral to refuse to feed needy children because of the supposed or actual moral derelictions of their parents.

7. Public assistance programs should not, moreover, be designed to maintain a static pool of labor at the level of subsistence to be made available to employers on sub-marginal terms as needed. Public assistance is not the modern counterpart of the Statute of Laborers of 1348.

8. As poverty and immorality are not synonymous, so need itself is not a crime. Fundamental to the welfare creed is the recognition that those who are in need are neither sinners nor delinquents, that men cannot be driven to their salvation by the threat of punishment. The methods of the welfare law are not the methods of the criminal law--the law of crime and punishment which seeks not to help but to chastise; not to cure but to suppress; not to understand but to retaliate. Until very recent times, the law of crimes had the whole field of welfare to itself. It failed utterly to solve, and managed only to aggravate, the human problems of poverty and immorality, of abnormality and nonconformity. While dealing roughly with the symptom, it has failed even to identify the disease.

9. The programs of public assistance are not designed to classify, symbolize or stigmatize their underprivileged recipients as a subordinate or extra-constitutional group. The clients of welfare are not a lesser breed without the constitutional law. Indigence, unlike crime or contagion, does not warrant stripping people of their freedom and their rights. As Justice Jackson pointed out, "The mere state of being without funds is a neutral fact--constitutionally an irrelevance, like race, creed or color." So welfare recipients, like anybody else, are entitled to all the protections of the Federal and State constitutions: to the equal protection of the laws, with its requirement of reasonable and relevant classification; to due process of law, with its requirement of proper procedures and presumptions; to

security in their persons, houses, papers and effects; and to immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures--in short, to all the safeguards of minorities and individuals systematically erected through the centuries of Anglo-American legal history. These are safeguards for all, for the poor and troubled as well as for the comfortable, not to be "grudgingly given and imperfectly applied" to the lowliest or the neediest among us.

10. The dignity of man is not lost by virtue of poverty and the receipt of welfare benefits. No less vital to welfare than to democracy itself is a sensitive regard for the personality, the personal rights, the inviolable privacy of the individual--for his prerogative to live his own life and to manage his own affairs free from arbitrary restraint or oppressive surveillance. At bottom, this is a faith in the responsibility and rationality, the simple capacity for self-determination, of the individual client of welfare services. The principle of human dignity, at work in our field, encourages guidance but prohibits governance of the client by the social worker and administrator. It commands respect for the personal integrity, the moral worth and the productive powers of those in need. It prescribes a presumption of normality, of the ability to manage one's own affairs and make the ordinary choices about life and living--which is the counterpart in social welfare of the presumption of innocence in the law of crimes.

These then are the articles of our commitment. In their service we are not neutral but partisan; we are not indifferent but partial; we are not above the battle but in the thick of it. In the spirit of Jefferson, we declare our hostility to one particular form of tyranny over the souls of men--the tyranny of involuntary circumstance and ill-fortune which deprives them of equal rights and normal opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

TEXAS STAND DISPUTE: BLIND WIDOW VERSUS STATE AGENCY.

By Floyd W. Matson

James Richardson, although blind, successfully supported his Dallas family for 23 years through proceeds from the vending stand which he operated in a local branch post office. For several years prior to his death last August 20, he was actively assisted in the business by his blind wife, Mabel -- and more recently by their 17-year-old son Paul, also sightless.

On August 23 Mrs. Richardson was notified by the Texas Commission for the Blind, which owns the stand, that she could not continue to operate the enterprise and must vacate the premises on that day. The decision was made by Commission Director Lon Alsup, on the basis (according to accounts in two Dallas newspapers) of past criticisms by Mrs. Richardson of the Commission's procedures and practices -- specifically, through letters she had written to various state representatives and congressmen.

"If she proves herself later on -- if she stops writing political letters about us to Washington -- I'll let her have a newstand again. But she's got to prove herself," Mr. Alsup was quoted as saying by the Dallas Times Herald. According to the Dallas News, the Commission chief declared with reference to the critical letters: "I just decided I didn't want any more....I'd be in trouble all of the time....She's not capable of running the stand. She doesn't have what it takes to run it, spending all that time writing letters."

Mrs. Richardson, who with her late husband had been active in state blind organizations, replied that her letters to elective officials had indeed been critical of commissioners who "don't want us to have a thought of our own. They want us in a state of custodial care." Maintaining that her long association with her husband's business was proof of her competence to run the stand, she sought a formal hearing from the state commission in an effort to gain reinstatement. After a week of increasing press and public attention to the case, with growing support for the blind widow from political authorities in Washington and in the state capital at Austin, the Commission for the Blind granted a four-hour hearing and review of its decision.

Following the hearing, the Commission voted unanimously to uphold

Mrs. Richardson's eviction and to reject her appeal. Its official statement asserted that her "application for a license to operate a vending stand under the business enterprise program" was being rejected because she had not complied with regulations requiring a formal application. "The Commission finds further that the vending stand for which Mrs. Richardson has applied is not available, since such vacancy was filled" five days before, the statement added.

Although the commission announcement was silent regarding Mrs. Richardson's letter-writing activities, Director Alsup "in his testimony said at first he did not think she was qualified but later said her experience in helping her late husband would permit her to be licensed without any formal training," according to a report in the Dallas News. "He refused repeatedly to say whether or not he had any objections to her that he would not have to other applicants, declaring 'I don't have to answer that,'" the newspaper reported.

Mrs. Richardson immediately announced her intention to appeal the commission decision to the courts. "I feel I am being discriminated against," she told the commission, "because I have written letters to Congress. It is my intention to prove that anyone has a right to contact a congressman. It's not a question of cooperation with the commission. It's a question of the difference between cooperation and servitude."

BROTHERS . . . & OTHERS.

Florida's "Blind Worker of the Year": Mrs. Gertrude Sitt of North Miami Beach, secretary of the Florida Federation of the Blind, is the recipient of the first annual "Florida Blind Worker of the Year" award given by the state's B'Nai B'Rith Society as an adjunct to its program of placing blind workers in industrial employment. The title, along with a braille wristwatch, will be awarded each year to a blind Floridian who has achieved employment mainly through his own initiative.

* * * *

The fall 1961 convention of the California Council of the Blind will be held at the U.S. Grant Hotel in San Diego October 20 through 22, according to an announcement by Council President Russell Kletzing. "The emphasis at the convention will be on reviewing and understanding legislative program," the president adds.

* * * *

New Honors for John Nagle: The aggressive and indefatigable Washington Office Chief of the National Federation of the Blind, John F. Nagle, continues to win friends and influence people in large numbers

on behalf of the organized blind and their cause. Last July, as a participant in the Third Regional Conference of the National Rehabilitation Association, he took a leading role in a panel on "The Meaning of Disability to the Individual." His talk was so effective that he was invited to present it again before a conference of Coordinators for the Employment of the Physically Handicapped held on September 8 under sponsorship of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Mr. Nagle reports that requests for copies of the speech have been so heavy that Civil Service officials plan to send it to the 2,500 Coordinators throughout the country.

* * * *

The 40th anniversary of the American Foundation for the Blind is to be signalized this month in a special (October) issue of THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND. The magazine, in addition to carrying accounts of the organization's history and its contributions to the welfare of the blind, is to contain the annual report of the AFB.

* * * *

tenBroek Named to Study Commission: Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, President of the American Brotherhood for the Blind, has been appointed by California Governor Edmund G. Brown to membership on a Welfare Study Commission which will take "a critical new look" at the state's social welfare procedures. Dr. tenBroek, who is chairman of the State Social Welfare Board in California, will serve with 18 other prominent citizens on the new commission which was authorized by the 1961 state legislature to recommend improvements in public assistance and welfare programs.

* * * *

Food for Thought: A Recorded Magazine? Mr. Roy Zuvers, of 1118 Frederick, Independence, Missouri -- remembered by many as the official recorder-on-tape of the National Federation of the Blind convention at Kansas City last July -- presents some provocative suggestions in a letter to this journal. He writes in part: "I think that much could be done toward education of people in many different fields through a recording program, and several other organizations also, but there is room for more. My interest is along the lines of speeches and information recorded 'live' at such events as convention meetings and banquets. The tapes could be put into a library of master tapes and copies made available to anyone. It is certain that blind people would not be the only ones to benefit by such a program.

"I am also investigating the idea of a recorded magazine," Mr. Zuvers continues. "I have found that if an organization wants to, they could put out such a magazine every month for a subscription price of ten dollars per year. The subscriber would read the magazine and then return the tape to the appointed place to be recorded again

and sent out with the next month's issue. . . . I would be interested to know what other people might think of these ideas."

* * * *

The development of a special sealed tape containing eight hours of reading material, which can be placed on a spindle without touching the tape itself and will rewind automatically after playing, is contemplated by the end of this year as a result of joint efforts by the Library of Congress and Recording for the Blind, Inc. The project has been made possible by grants totaling over \$60,000 from the Council on Library Resources.

* * * *

Social Note from California: The energetic president of the San Fernando Valley Braille Blazers, Inc., Rita Bergman, was married on July 15 to Charles Davidson, also a member of the San Fernando Chapter of the California Council of the Blind and formerly an active worker in the Arizona Federation of the Blind.

* * * *

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

John F. Nagle, a frequent and generous contributor to these pages, is Chief of the Washington Office of the National Federation of the Blind. Himself without sight, he is a past president of the Associated Blind of Massachusetts and practiced law for many years in his home town of Watertown, Mass.

Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the American Brotherhood for the Blind, delivered the address which appears in our current issue before a community gathering last July at San Diego, California, in honor of the State Social Welfare Board of which he is chairman. Dr. tenBroek is also past president of the National Federation of the Blind and the author of numerous books and monographs on public welfare and constitutional law.

Dr. Floyd W. Matson, is editor of THE BLIND AMERICAN and the co-author (with Jacobus tenBroek) of a recent book, entitled HOPE DEFERRED: PUBLIC WELFARE AND THE BLIND.

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"CONFIDENTIALITY": A CASE OF DOUBLETHINK?

"War is Peace. Freedom is Slavery. Ignorance is Strength."

These were the three slogans of the Party of "Big Brother" in George Orwell's famous novel of a totalitarian future, Nineteen Eighty-Four. They were classic examples of "doublethink," the main psychological weapon by which, in that nightmare society, all concepts of value and virtue came to be turned literally inside-out, and thus emptied of meaning.

In the field of social welfare today, one of the most important and highly treasured of concepts has been that of "confidentiality" -- with reference to the personal case record of the client and the intimate information it contains. "Confidentiality" has long been assumed by most of us to mean just what it says: namely, that this information is confidential, private, privileged, not to be publicly disclosed or broadcast.

But it now appears that this is not, for many social workers, the meaning of the term at all. According to a publication of the National Social Welfare Assembly, "confidentiality" does not mean confidentiality but something else -- something which it is difficult for a layman to distinguish from un-confidentiality.

Here is the new definition, or redefinition, of the term and the concept as set forth in Confidentiality in Social Services to Individuals (published by J. B. Watkins Company, New York, 1958);

"Confidentiality is a dynamic, not a static concept. The client has a right to expect the agency to use information constructively in his behalf. This involves not only protection against improper disclosure, but also the responsible sharing of pertinent information with appropriate persons at appropriate times in order to provide the best possible service.

"... Confidentiality cannot be narrowly viewed as a bond of secrecy between a worker and a client. The realistic contemporary view of confidentiality is that a relationship exists between a troubled person and an agency, and that the agency gives assurance to the person for responsible use of information obtained."

"Confidentiality," in short, is disclosure -- "proper" disclosure, of course, to "appropriate" persons for "responsible purposes" -- but nevertheless disclosure.

It would be hard to mistake the meaning of this remarkable statement. For its authors and authorizers (the National Social Welfare Assembly), "confidentiality" now signifies not the client's right to privacy and safeguarding of his dossier but rather his "right" to have it disclosed and disseminated. The only recognizable right is the right of the social worker and the agency to do with this "confidential" material whatever they see fit. Who is to decide what is "proper," "appropriate" and "responsible" disclosure? Certainly not the client -- who comes to be viewed as a "troubled person" whose relationship with the agency is one of total dependency and hence of total irresponsibility. Nowhere in this quasi-official pronouncement on confidentiality is there any recognition of the right of the client himself to a voice in deciding whether and when his own intimate record is to be "shared" and circulated. On the contrary, the more usual practice and policy of social welfare agencies is to withhold the case record from the client himself: i.e., to uphold the principle of confidentiality rigorously with respect to the client, if to no one else!

Lest there be any doubt as to the position of workers and agencies for the blind regarding this grave reversal of welfare principles, the reader is referred to an article in the September, 1961, issue of The New Outlook for the Blind, official journal of the American Foundation for the Blind. Writing under the title "The Case Record: An Evaluative Process," Doris P. Sausser, a regional representative of the AFB, cites the above-quoted redefinition of confidentiality and warmly commends it to others with this additional observation: "The record is written to be used. It is a manner of communicating with oneself, with the agency, and with any other appropriate individuals." (Emphasis added.)

What became of the client in this list of those to whom the case record communicates? More importantly, what becomes of the client in this new dispensation of welfare "doublethink" -- in which what was once confidential is now available, and what was once a right of privacy becomes a "right" to publicity?

To the 100,000 and more blind Americans who are the recipients of services from national and state agencies of welfare -- and to the hundreds of thousands of sightless persons who form the clientele of private as well as

public agencies -- these proclamations seem in effect to provide a final comforting assurance from the pages of Nineteen Eighty-Four: "Big Brother is Watching Over You."

SOCIAL SECURITY: TODAY'S CHALLENGE IN PUBLIC WELFARE

By Dr. Jacobus tenBroek

The important laws of our land--the statutes which have attained stature--are each a compound of many things. They are admixtures of form and substance, of letter and spirit, of the old and the new, of conservatism and liberalism, of policies and practices, of conflicting pressures and opposing politics. In a sense, they are what they become. They acquire the character of institutions. They have a life of their own. Like the men and the societies which produce them, they come into being, move through stages of faltering infancy, rambunctious youth, stable maturity. Eventually they pass from the scene leaving behind them their numerous offspring, their impact in positive results, their remains to fertilize the soil where statutes grow.

So with the Social Security Act of the United States. It was born of the Great Depression. It contains a mixture of goals and organizational methods. It defines a few policies and prescribes more administrative details. It encompasses the old Elizabethan poor law and the new social insurances. It sets in balance the pressures to do much and the pressures to do little. It accommodates the opposite poles and divergent directives of nationalism and localism; a general progressive tax and a special regressive one; benefits as a right and relief as a gratuity; group need as a product of the economy and individual need as a product of the personality.

Today, after a quarter of a century of existence, the Social Security Act is approaching maturity. Its character is mainly formed though it will still go through many changes of life.

Its main features are two: social insurance and public assistance. The first includes unemployment insurance, old age and survivors insurance, and disability insurance. The second includes child welfare services and the categorical aid program of old age assistance, aid to

dependent children, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, and aid to the needy blind. The first was designed to embrace the common and recurring needs created by the complexities of our society and the uneven operation of our economic system. The second was intended mainly to fill the remaining gaps--to furnish relief for the uninsured residual groups.

In submitting his proposals for a system of social security in 1935, President Roosevelt said: "In the important field of security for our old people, it seems necessary to adopt [these] principles--first, noncontributory old age pensions for those who are now too old to build up their own insurance;...for perhaps 30 years to come funds will have to be provided by the States and the Federal Government to meet these pensions. Second, compulsory contributory annuities which in time will establish a self-supporting system for those now young and for future generations.... It is proposed that the Federal Government assume one-half the cost of the old age pension plan, which ought ultimately to be supplanted by self-supporting annuity plans."

The Social Security Act as adopted by Congress contained the system of "compulsory contributory annuities" for those then young and for future generations. It constituted the foundation of the social insurance program. The plan for noncontributory pensions, supported by the States and the Federal Government, formed the foundation of the public assistance program for the aged.

Both sides of the program--contributory insurance and noncontributory assistance--were products of the depression. "We can eliminate many of the factors that cause economic depressions," said President Roosevelt in presenting his proposal, "and we can provide the means of mitigating their results. This plan for economic security is at once a measure of prevention and a method of alleviation."

Of the two concepts of security, it was social insurance which was clearly the favorite, not only of the President but of the lawmakers and of the general public. One of the congressional sponsors of the system, Senator George, gave the reasons: "There has developed through the years a feeling both in and out of Congress that the contributory social insurance principle fits our times--that it serves a vital need that cannot be as well served otherwise. It comports better than any substitute we have discovered with the American concept that free men want to earn their security and not ask for doles--that what is due as a matter of earned right is far better than a

gratuity." "Social security," he said with reference to the projected insurances, "is not a handout; it is not charity; it is not relief. It is an earned right based upon the contributions and earnings of the individual. As an earned right, the individual is eligible to receive his benefits in dignity and self-respect."

This then was the intent of Congress and the policy of the President a quarter of a century ago, with regard to the comprehensive innovation of social security. In some important respects their purposes have clearly stood the tests of time and change, of war and peace, prosperity and recession, exploding populations and rising expectations. Public support for the program has steadily grown. Political opposition no longer centers upon its underlying principles but only upon the mapping of its outer boundaries, and the classification of the marginal folk who dwell there.

But the years have nevertheless wrought deep changes upon the two pillars of social security. They have thrown up formidable challenges to its purposes and goals. Some of the challenges are affirmative, calling upon us to bolster existing trends and fulfill the potential promise of the Act. Others of the challenges are negative, reflecting counter-trends which serve to place those purposes and promises in jeopardy.

Four vital areas in particular may be identified in which the social security system faces critical tests today. They are: (1) the challenge to fortify and expand the constructive elements in public assistance; (2) the challenge presented by the creeping infiltration into social security of the law of crimes; and (4) the challenge to bring the United States Constitution effectively to bear upon the policies and administration of public welfare.

Let us look more closely at each of these areas of challenge.

1. The paramount task confronting public assistance is not itself new but it has, however, become newly important and freshly urgent. It is that of eliminating the corrosive and anachronistic features of the program handed down from the medieval poor law, recognizing its permanency as a form of welfare aid and its dignity as a democratic measure.

Public assistance can no longer be regarded as a temporary stopgap or as a kind of national dump for the disposal of unsolved social ills. Once it comes to be viewed as a long-range permanent program with an independent right to existence, filling genuine needs which arise from social no less than personal causes and which are required to be met constructively as well as palliatively, the way is opened for fundamental improvement.

In this sweeping reorientation, public assistance must be directed as much toward opportunity as toward security. It must be geared to rehabilitation, employment and self-support, as well as to relief. It must help people out of their distress, not merely in it. It must represent not a handout to the helpless but an active encouragement of their capacities for self-reliance and self-help.

The amendments to the Social Security Act which Congress passed in 1956 were a long first step in this constructive direction. The explicit addition of self-support and self-care to the list of purposes to be served invigorated the program with a new and affirmative spirit. Now recognized were the social and subjective needs of recipients--their needs for self-sufficiency and self-respect, for independence and incentive--as no less pertinent to the purposes of public assistance than their animal needs for shelter and bare subsistence. With this express avowal, the categorical aid programs moved out of the middle ages into the modern democratic era. There is not only significance but, to me at least, a quality of excitement in the simple declaration of purpose of the 1956 amendments: "To promote the well-being of the Nation by...helping to strengthen family life and helping needy families and individuals to attain the maximum economic and personal independence of which they are capable." Each of the purpose clauses of the several public assistance titles now repeats and re-affirms these goals with only technical variations.

There is a special challenge and a cautionary note in this newly affirmative approach for social workers who fill the positions in the field. The modern programs of public assistance call upon these professionals for a degree of understanding and a quality of exertion far greater than that required by the administration of palliative relief. In the new perspective more than ever the worker's role is one of guidance, not of governance; of informed suggestion, not of arbitrary command; of limited obligation, not of "whole responsibility"; and

above all of full respect for the rights and powers of the public assistance client. The basic tenet of our emerging welfare philosophy, as of democracy itself, is that the individual who applies for aid is to be regarded as competent and responsible, as well as innocent, until proved otherwise--that he is an ultimately self-sufficient and self-directing agent, both entitled to happiness and capable of pursuing it in his own way. It cannot be a principle of welfare that the government giveth, and the government taketh away. The American citizen does not by the act of falling into need surrender his personal sovereignty, or waive his entitlement to the Bill of Rights, or turn in at the agency desk his political and moral credit cards. The help he needs from government, to repeat a hackneyed but still pertinent phrase, is only to help himself.

2. The challenge to the welfare system on its other side--that of the social insurances--takes the form of a movement of thought and law which, if not soon halted, threatens to undermine the original character of the program and to wipe out the lines of distinction which have hitherto separated it from the relief provisions of the system. The attack is three-pronged. First, it would strip the program of its insurance characteristics by defining the regular payroll contributions of future beneficiaries not as premium payments to a trust fund but as only another form of federal tax--and a regressive one at that. Second, it would sweep aside as illegitimate and frivolous the time-honored assumption of Congress and the public alike that the benefits of social insurance are received as a matter of earned right. Instead it would regard them as a gratuity no different from relief, to be conditionally granted or withheld by government at its discretion. Finally, this same movement has imported into the statutes and regulations of social insurance an ever-increasing battery of moral, political and behavioral tests which were no part of the original law and which in effect convert its benefits into a reward for good conduct. During the last decade the Act has been successively amended to deny the benefits of social insurance to persons guilty of a variety of crimes or to aliens deported on any of 14 grounds.

In the case of Flemming v. Nestor, decided only last year, the United States Supreme Court lent its sanction to this tripartite attack upon the original meaning of the social insurances. It did so by denying the claim of an insured person to benefit payments under the Old Age and Survivors' Insurance program to which he had become entitled through age and continuous payroll contributions.

Speaking for the court, which was divided five to four, Justice Harlan explicitly rejected the notion--once taken for granted by Senator George and his colleagues--that social insurance benefits have the character of an earned right. "It is hardly profitable," said Justice Harlan, "to engage in conceptualizations regarding 'earned rights' and 'gratuities....' To engraft upon the social security system a concept of 'accrued property rights' would deprive it of the flexibility and boldness in adjustment to ever-changing conditions which it demands." The program instead was described as one "enacted pursuant to Congress' power to 'spend money in aid of the general welfare,'"--one in which, accordingly, the contributions of employed persons were not on the order of premium payments into a trust fund, to be paid back to the insured upon maturity, but rather a tax to be used in public relief of the retired and disabled.

Insofar as this new doctrine comes to be accepted and enforced, these programs are not insurances at all but charities--programs of relief to which individual eligibility is never certain but remains forever contingent and revokable. There has been smuggled into the contributory social insurances the behavioral qualifications and norms of worthiness, of deserving and undeserving, of morality and deviations from it, which have traditionally characterized, and once served to distinguish, the poor-relief programs of public assistance.

The challenge which is here laid down, by the Supreme Court as by Congress, goes to the very root of the social insurances. If they are to retain their original and distinctive character--if they are to justify the faith of those who fathered them and of those who now support them--the challenge must be forcefully met. The concept of benefits as a matter of right, not of charity, must be fully reinstated. With the restoration of rights must come the repulsion of personal tests of morality and conduct.

3. The most pervasive and perhaps the most insidious, of all the challenges to social security today is the increasing penetration into its programs of the punitive law of crimes. Congress itself has taken a number of steps to assist this infiltration on both sides of the system. It has decreed on the side of social insurance, that a person who commits treason may, as added punishment, be denied accrued benefits under the program; that one who has engaged in sedition may be similarly stripped; and so may those who have been deported from the land on any of 14 different grounds. On the side of public assistance

Congress has augmented the influence of the law of crimes by adding to the federal statute a requirement that law enforcement officers must be notified in all cases of aid to needy children where there is an absence of a parent.

In our own State of California the penetration of the criminal law into public assistance may be seen in the increasing proliferation of local rules and practices bringing to bear the methods of the lie detector to determine truth, of the blood test to establish parentage, of the night raid upon the homes of recipients to flush suspected partners, of the beating of park bushes and other public places to deter promiscuity--indeed, of the whole repressive weight of criminal investigations and police authority.

I am bound to say, moreover, that some of the worst instances of this regressive tendency have taken place in the county of San Diego. It is here that the administration of aid to needy children came in recent months most fully under the sway of law enforcement agencies. It is here that a special aid to needy children review unit was installed in the office of the county district attorney, who was given sweeping powers over welfare--among them the actual determination of eligibility for Aid to Needy Children. In practical effect, the administration of Aid to Needy Children in the county was handed over lock, stock and barrel to the district attorney, with the welfare director functioning as little more than a subordinate arm and instrument of his office.

Nor is this all. Here in San Diego the district attorney and a municipal court judge, in case after case, systematically invoked the penal code and the sanctions of the law of crimes in order to solve at a stroke the human and social problems of welfare. Under pain of punishment and imprisonment they compelled eligible mothers to get off the relief rolls and go to work, without regard for conditions of health or ability to labor, or the need of the children for the presence of their mother, or proper provision for the children's care, or any other consideration of welfare.

The challenge to social security involved in this pervasive encroachment of the law of crimes is critical and immediate. The human problems with which the program of Aid to Needy Children is necessarily concerned--problems of economic distress, of social dislocation, of personal confusion--cannot be solved by criminal sanctions and the threat of punishment. They can be adequately understood and constructively approached only by measures addressed

to their conditions and consequences. Such a measure, however limited its objective and partial its success, is Aid to Needy Children. For it seeks above all to improve the condition and prospects of children from distressed and impoverished families; to afford them something of the ordinary stability of education and upbringing; to allow them access to normal community life and recreation; to enhance their stunted opportunities for healthy growth into responsible citizenship; and, in so doing, to assist their parents toward a modicum of self-sufficiency and independence.

It is this simple idea that lies at the heart of the modern law of the modern public assistance program and at the root of its persistent conflict with the much more ancient law of crimes. For the assumptions and objectives of the law of crimes are diametrically opposed. Its preliminary assumption is that persons in deprived circumstances are there either through wilful choice or incorrigible deficiency of character. Its ultimate objective is to eliminate the problem by suppression and punishment. Problems of poverty and immorality, of social change and economic depression, all are perceived by the law of crimes in the same narrow focus of personal responsibility, to be solved by arrest and investigation, by penal sanctions and retributions.

4. I come now to the last of our challenges. Thus far, I have analyzed the intrusion of the law of crimes in terms of its incompatibility with the purposes and functions of social security. It is also significant, however, in another vital connection. To call the police is to invoke the police powers of the Constitution, not its general welfare powers. The police powers are those that deal with maintaining order, preventing vice and crime, securing safety, and protecting health and morals. When problems of poverty are handled under the police powers of the Constitution, poverty comes to be equated with disease, immorality and disorder. Indeed, historically these have proved to be inseparable conditions. The constitutional powers of police have generally been called upon to protect one part of the community against another--the comfortable against the needy.

A classic illustration is to be found in the famous, (or rather infamous) case of New York v. Miln, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1837. "It is as competent and necessary for a state," said the Justices in that case, "to provide precautionary measures against the moral pestilence of paupers, vagabonds and possibly

convicts as it is to guard against the physical pestilence which may arise from unsound and infectious articles imported, or from a ship, the crew of which may be laboring under an infectious disease." Accordingly, the Court held valid a New York statute designed to exclude the poor and the unwanted brought to New York from other states or from foreign countries. The statute was found to be a regulation of police, not of commerce, and therefore within the power of the state.

So, by this doctrine, the constitutional power of the states to deal with the poor is the police power to preserve public order, to quarantine contagion, to protect morals and to maintain safety; and poverty entails constitutional no less than social degradation. Financial, physical and mental well-being are tests of entitlement to constitutional rights. Welfare programs founded in these conceptions and sustained by this power focus on problems of behavior, utilize instruments of coercion and restraint, and are oriented towards keeping the peace and maintaining public order. They are designed to safeguard the health, safety, morals and well-being of the fortunate in the community rather than directly to improve the lot of the unfortunate.

Many of these ideas survive to plague us today. Perhaps they do not have quite the unquestioned dominance of a century ago but they still hold sway. Numerous recent public utterances by citizens and officials alike make clear that not even the rhetoric has altered substantially.

We see it all again, or still, in county resort ordinances conceived in discrimination, adopted in discrimination, applied in discrimination against aid to needy children families. We see it in night raids, in polygraph tests and in unwarrantable searches and seizures. We see it in compulsory authorizations by applicants to provide knowledge about the contents of their "trunks, bags and boxes" containing the intimate mementos and remembrances carried into old age and destitution.

We see it all again, or still, in conditions of probation imposed by the judges that forbid mothers to secure public aid for their children, whatever their need of eligibility; that command them to support their children on threat of imprisonment whatever their ability, whatever the need of the children for their care at home, whatever the unavailability of jobs for the unskilled and the socially and economically marginal. We see it in provisions that would make these people moral by the injunction to be "good"--whatever their cultural family

patterns and group mores, whatever their individual retardations and instabilities.

We see it all again, or still, in the denial by these actions of the constitutional guarantees of the equal protection of the laws, of due process of the law, of the right of the people to be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects, of the right to privacy and the right to counsel.

We see it all again, or still, in the fact that a California appellate court found it necessary only four months ago to declare that these people "are not second class citizens entitled only to second class justice."

We see it all again, or still, in the language of the United States Supreme Court in the Nestor case, decided just eight months ago, refusing the protection of the due process clause and other constitutional provisions to those with accrued rights to benefits under the Old Age and Survivors' Insurance Program on the ground that all they had was a claim to a "non-contractual benefit under a social welfare program."

Justice Robert Jackson, in Edwards v. California, the 1941 counterpart of the Miln case of a century ago, felt the impulse and found the words to capture the constitutional hopes of the underprivileged: "Does indigence," he asked, "constitute a basis for restricting the freedom of a citizen, as crime or contagion warrants its restriction? We should say now," he answered, "and in no uncertain terms, that a man's mere property status, without more, cannot be used by a state to test, qualify or limit his rights as a citizen of the United States. Indigence in itself is neither a source of rights nor a basis for denying them. The mere state of being without funds is a neutral fact--constitutionally an irrelevance, like race, creed or color." Such distinctions he said are "a short-sighted blow at the security of property itself." For "property can have no more dangerous, even if unwitting enemy, than one who would make its possession a pretext for unequal or exclusive civil rights."

What is most striking about this statement is not its eloquence, though that is great. It is not its democracy, though that is certain. It is not its recognition of the dignity and worth of the human person, though that is priceless. What is most striking is that it was a minority opinion. It could not command the acquiescence or support of the majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The task that lies ahead of us--the greatest of all the challenges to our welfare system--is to elevate this doctrine from a minority plea to a majority command, to transform it from a promise into a reality. When, in addition, it is enshrined in the hearts of Americans as well as in the edicts of their government, then will the constitutional law of the land truly be brought to the people of the Nation.

* * * * *

It is especially appropriate to talk about today's challenges in public welfare in Southern California. This part of the State and Nation, this community, must face those challenges as must every other community in the land. In addition, this region and this community must face a special challenge.

In our fast-moving world, those who concentrate too much on the past may not live well today and may not live at all tomorrow. Yet remembering our beginnings, grasping the significance of our history, is an instructive enterprise, to neglect which may be equally dangerous.

The famous historian of the West and Southwest, Hubert Bancroft, says in the first volume of his HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA that "On the 28th of September, 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, coming from the south in command of two Spanish exploring vessels, discovered a land-locked and very good harbor...." Thus was San Diego Bay entered for the first time by a European. There were people already on the scene. The native Indians had been there for generations, perhaps for centuries. They were described by the Spaniards as well-formed, of large size and clothed in skins. Interviews were held with them on shore and on ship, some voluntary, some involuntary.

Four centuries later, the officials of the county of San Diego denied county aid to the Indians living in the neighborhood. This was done on the ground, of all things, that they did not meet residence requirements. To withhold county aid on the ground that they were Indians and we have a prejudice against them; or on the ground that we took the land from them and to the victor belongs the spoils; or on the ground that they were not close enough to starvation to fall below the white man's test of decent and healthful living for Indians; or on the ground that their morals, mores, and cultural patterns, were not the same as ours--all or any one of these grounds would have been understandable, if not commendable. But these grounds were not mentioned. Instead, the county officials

chose to rely on the proposition that these people were not eligible to make a withdrawal from the common resources of the community they and their ancestors had lived in for a thousand years, and for many generations before the Europeans set foot on the continent, let alone in the particular area, because they had not lived here long enough. What a mockery of history! As late as the Year of Grace 1954, the state courts intervened to prohibit this county practice.

It was not until 1769, 227 years after Cabrillo entered San Diego Bay, that a European settlement was established here. Or was it European? The band of forty people who founded the mission, and erected the presidio, consisted of eight Lower California Indians, to some extent converted and civilized, and of thirty-two persons said to be of Spanish blood but more probably of mixed Spanish, Negro and Indian blood.

Nearby, or at least nearby today, if not then, a short time later in the year 1781, the town of Los Angeles was founded. There were twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons in all. Among the adults were ten Indians, eight Mullatoes, two Negroes, one Mestizo, one Chino, (the word used for Filipinos), and two Spaniards. Of the four Indian men, three were married to Indian women, the other was married to a Mullatress. The two Negro men were married to Mullatresses. The two Mullato men were also married to Mullatresses. The Mestizo was married to a Mullatress. The two Spanish men were married to Indian women. The Chino had a child but no wife. Some historians doubt that he was a Chino. They think he may have been the offspring of an Indian mother and father of mixed Spanish-Negro blood.

In organizing the Pueblo of Los Angeles, each family received a town lot, four fields, and a branding iron, without distinction of race, class, previous condition, marital status, or the legitimacy of themselves or their children.

This then is our special public welfare challenge. How shall we deny our origins, spurn our Founding Fathers, repudiate our history? Here, if anywhere, it should be possible to hold high the banner of the Constitution with its proclamation of the equal protection of the laws for the privileged and the underprivileged, the colored and the undercolored, those with the same and those with different mores, cultural patterns and habits of life. Here, if anywhere, in this broad and bountiful land there should be "neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free," black nor white, Indian nor Mexican, but only the free man and citizen in the society of equals to which we aspire.

THE ORGANIZED BLIND IN CALIFORNIA

By Russell Kletzing

(Editor's Note: Following is the text of a statement by Russell Kletzing, President of the California Council of the Blind, which was delivered by James McGinnis of the C.C.B. before the State Welfare Study Commission at a Los Angeles hearing on October 27, 1961. Because of widespread interest in the generally progressive programs of this state, and because Mr. Kletzing's historical survey and analysis contains information useful to blind organizations and agencies elsewhere, the statement is herewith reprinted in its entirety.)

(The Welfare Study Commission was appointed by the 1961 California Legislature to take "a critical new look" at all social welfare programs and procedures of the state. Among the 19 prominent citizens appointed by Governor Pat Brown to man the commission is Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, President of the American Brotherhood for the Blind and Chairman of the California State Board of Social Welfare.)

The California Council of the Blind was founded in 1934 by a small group of blind men and women and a handful of sighted persons genuinely interested in working with the blind. Today the principles remain basically the same. Its aims and objectives through the intervening years have been enlarged and advanced. The efforts of the California Council of the Blind are directed toward dispelling the many misconceptions concerning blindness, complete vocational rehabilitation, promoting self-care and a better standard of living for the elderly blind, furnishing of information of vital interest to the blind pertaining to laws and regulations affecting the blind, and providing better job opportunities for the qualified blind.

The California Council of the Blind today is a non-profit corporation with 30 chapters throughout California. It is the only statewide organization of the blind with membership open to both civilians and veterans who are blind. It is comprised almost entirely of blind people, and its officers and executive committee serve entirely without pay.

The organized blind of California have made the development of an outstanding program of Aid to the Blind their major effort over the past 42 years. This effort is based on the knowledge that a sound and progressive plan

of public assistance for the blind constitutes the foundation around which to build services designed to promote physical, social, and economic rehabilitation. Rehabilitation in its truest sense may be regarded as the restoration of the individual to the fullest possible measure of health, usefulness, and satisfaction. To attain this goal, aid to the blind must be so geared in its administration and supervision as to assist blind men and women to achieve those adjustments which will reduce dependancy and thus make possible fuller integration into society.

In 1919 the California Legislature enacted a statute which empowered the counties to grant aid to needy blind persons in an amount not to exceed \$150 per year (amended in 1921 to \$180 a year). Since this act was permissive and did not provide for any state financial participation, it was inadequate both from the point of view of the number of blind persons afforded assistance and also the amount of the grant. In fact, as late as 1928, after nine years of operation of the statute, only 735 needy blind persons were receiving assistance in but eight counties of the state.

Realizing that only a pitifully small amount of financial assistance was being given to but a fraction of California's needy population, the organized blind sponsored an initiative measure in 1928 which would, if approved by the electorate, amend the Constitution by giving the Legislature the power to grant aid to the needy blind persons. On November 6, 1938, this amendment to the Constitution was approved by the people of California by an overwhelming popular vote of almost five to one.

In 1929 the California Legislature, clothed with this constitutional authority so overwhelmingly voted by the people, enacted Chapter 529 of the Statutes of 1929, which was a comprehensive statute, drafted by the organized blind of the State, granting financial assistance to needy blind persons on a statewide basis with financial responsibility shared equally by the State and counties. Since July, 1936, the Federal Government has participated in the financing of the Aid to Needy Blind program under the provisions of Title X of the Social Security Act.

All of the provisions of the original act of 1929, and of the many liberalizing amendments subsequently made thereto, were designed to effectuate the three-fold purpose of relieving blind persons from the distress of poverty, enlarging the economic opportunities of the blind, and stimulating the blind to greater efforts in achieving self-care and/or self-support. Thus California antedated by some 27 years the 1956 amendments to the purpose clauses of the Social Security Act.

In order to achieve the extensive rehabilitative objectives which it wishes to see accomplished by means of the 1929 act, the Legislature set up in the statute itself standards which defined just what constituted "need" and just who were "needy blind persons" in order to provide a decent amount of financial assistance to every needy blind person. The act provided an initial zone of security in the form of exempt income and property and, later, a "floor" to relief. The original act wisely provided for the creation of a Division for the Blind in the State Department of Welfare to supervise the administration of Aid to the Blind by the counties. This is the only effective way of preventing Aid to the Blind from being scrambled with other programs of public assistance, and thus having its different objectives lost. This separate Division has, in addition to the function of supervising the administration of Aid to the Blind, been responsible for determining degree of blindness and for the prevention of blindness program. This has provided an administrative structure which assures the continual recognition of the special needs and requirements of blind recipients, promotes an understanding on the part of the county social workers and their supervisors of the creation and utilization of resources which contribute to the attainment of self-care and self-support by blind recipients, and makes possible the formulation of rules and regulations which relate directly to the needs of blind persons.

In 1941 the Aid to Needy Blind Law was amended to bring it into conformity with recent amendments to Title X of the Social Security Act which required the consideration of all income and resources in determining the amount of the grant, i.e., the elimination of the exempt income provision. However, the amendments also provided that any income which the recipient might possess could be used to the extent necessary to meet any actual need above the grant.

While the Aid to Needy Blind Act has been amended at almost every session of the Legislature since its original passage in 1929, there are several major amendments which should be noted and which have occurred during the 32 years of its existence, with the active sponsorship of the California Council of the Blind. In 1936 the residence requirement was reduced from ten years to the present five out of the last nine years for those persons who became blind while not residents of California. In 1936 an amendment to the law abolished the budgetary deficiency method of computing the amount of aid to be received by a blind person and instead a flat grant of \$50 a month was written into the law, thus making the maximum grant both the

minimum and the maximum. Since that time the amount of the grant has gradually been increased to the present \$115. (\$117.80 come January 1, 1962). In 1950 provision was made for the establishment of Bureaus for the Blind in the larger counties to raise the whole level of administration of Aid to the Blind, one of the most vitally important provisions of the statute. In 1957 the Public Assistance Medical Care Program was enacted, with the provisions extended to blind recipients in need of medical care. Finally, in 1961 three significant changes were made in the laws--the so-called escalator provision was written into the statutes whereby the amount of aid would be increased each year to reflect increases in the cost-of-living; the responsibility of relatives provisions were repealed outright; and provision was made for the payment of the costs of special needs up to \$50 a month when actual need exceeded the minimum.

When in 1941 it became necessary to amend the Aid to Needy Blind Law to conform with amendments to the Social Security Act by deleting the exempt income provision, a way was sought by the California Council of the Blind whereby those blind persons with the capacity for becoming self-supporting might be encouraged and assisted in working toward that goal. The result was the enactment by the 1941 Legislature of a second program of public assistance for the blind, Aid to Partially Self-Supporting Blind Residents, to be financed entirely by state and county funds. This second program resulted from recognition on the part of the Legislature that maintenance alone is not sufficient for those blind persons who have a desire to achieve self-support--that, in addition to providing for the physical necessities of life, these people need encouragement to utilize their productive capacities and that this required the incentive of exempt income from earnings. This program was and has remained over the past twenty years an innovation in that it is a plan of public assistance geared specifically to economic rehabilitation. The amount of exempt income has increased from \$400 a year in 1941 to \$800 in 1945, \$1,000 plus one-half over \$1,000 in 1950, and \$1,200 plus one-half over \$1,200 in 1959. Thus California pioneered the now famous "sliding-scale" of exempt income fully ten years before it became a part of the Social Security Act.

Even though in 1960 Title X of the Social Security Act was amended by the Congress to provide for the exemption of \$85 a month, thus permitting this provision to be placed in every State's Aid to Needy Blind Law, it should be noted that California's Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents statute remains a far more effective

instrument to assist a needy blind person to achieve economic rehabilitation. This is true because: (1) the annual basis for computing exempt income is preferable to the monthly basis in Aid to Needy Blind since there is considerable variation in monthly earnings, found particularly in self-employment enterprises; (2) the Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents statute exempts income from all sources, not merely from earnings; and (3) the rigid real and personal property limitations imposed by the Federal Government for Aid to Needy Blind make it difficult for any blind person to achieve self-support from either a business or farm enterprise or from a professional practice.

As a necessary part of the full functioning of these two public assistance programs for the blind, California has developed a Prevention of Blindness program which, during the past 16 years, has been the means of restoring sight to more than 3,000 recipients of Aid to the Blind.

The people of the State of California have had some 42 years experience in dealing with the problem of public assistance for the blind. During this period of time can be found ample evidence of immense achievement in developing a plan for sightless men and women which more adequately meets their needs. The adequacy of any state's financial assistance program for blind persons can be measured only in part by the total number of needy persons who are given assistance and the amount of the average grant. Judged by these criteria, California has made more adequate provision for its blind citizens than most other states. However, the effectiveness of any public assistance program for the blind cannot be measured entirely by the number of recipients or the average monthly grant. The program should be administered in an imaginative manner so that it actually lends itself as an effective instrument to blind men and women in their efforts to make their major adjustments. California's programs have done just that.

California's position in the vanguard of the states stems from two factors: The experience which the people of this state have gained over the past 42 years in dealing with the problem; and the sympathetic and understanding interest which the representatives of the people in the Legislature have at all times displayed in their consideration of the problems of the blind. This enlightened and generous attitude stems from the people as a whole, and is effectively translated into sound legislation by the members of the Legislature who have evolved a plan of public assistance for the needy blind which gives effective recognition to the fact that a blind person has a

greater need because there are additional elements comprising it--a program of public assistance for the blind maintained and strengthened so as to assist the blind person in solving his physical, social, and economic problems.

California's Social Welfare Programs for the Blind have become a model for other states of the nation and justify the major effort put forth by the organized blind for more than 40 years. It is the continuing concern of the California Council of the Blind that these programs be even further developed and strengthened so that they may even more adequately meet the needs of blind persons in our state.

P.S.: NEW PROPERTY PROVISIONS IN CALIFORNIA AID

By Perry Sundquist

(Editor's note: Mr. Sundquist is Chief of the Division for the Blind in the California Department of Social Welfare. His article, summarizing recent state legislation affecting property provisions of the various public assistance programs, constitutes an appropriate postscript to the foregoing review by Mr. Kletzing and should be of equal interest to blind persons and organizations in other states.)

Chapter 1971 of the Statutes of 1961 (AB 1808) codifies into one chapter of the Welfare and Institutions Code the various property provisions currently included in the code sections dealing with Aid to Needy Blind, Old Age Security, and Aid to Disabled.

The new chapter on property represents a marked departure from the previous provisions and becomes operative January 1, 1962. No longer is the overriding consideration the total amount of property held. Rather, eligibility is contingent primarily on the purposes for which particular types of property are held--for a home, for income, for income-producing purposes to help meet the recipient's need, and for future contingencies. In other words, in determining eligibility with respect to property, it is necessary to ascertain the purposes for which the applicant holds the property. Thus, the property provisions place the emphasis on the purpose for which property is allowed to be held. The specific limitations with respect to use or total value on some types of property holdings constitute a part of the definition of a needy person; but the more important consideration is that property may be held, within those

limitations, because it meets a present or future need of the recipient.

The major changes as a result of the enactment of Chapter 1971 are:

1. Any real or personal property used as a home is exempt from any limitation as to value. In the event that the property used as a home is a multiple dwelling structure, the units not used as a home must be yielding a rental commensurate with their value and the recipient must use such rental toward meeting his needs.
2. Real property other than the home can be retained in an amount not to exceed \$5,000 assessed value, provided such property is yielding a reasonable return and the recipient uses such return to meet his needs.
3. Personal property, in the form of "reserves" can be retained in an amount not to exceed \$1,200 for a recipient or \$2,000 for a couple when both are receiving aid. The usual exemptions have been carried over with respect to personal effects; household furnishings, an automobile needed for transportation, etc. Also, the net appraised market value of any real property not being utilized can be retained provided that all reserves held do not exceed the limitations of \$1,200 or \$2,000.
4. Provision is made for the retention of property in any amount by an applicant provided he has a plan to convert such property for the purpose of buying a home within six months of application for aid. The recipient continues to have one year in which to use proceeds from a conversion in order to purchase a suitable home.
5. Provision is made for the retention of property which is determined to be necessary as a part of a self-care or rehabilitation plan.
6. There is excluded in determining eligibility under the new chapter any property right which is not available to meet a current or future need, i.e., the net value only of property holdings can be counted.

Finally, Chapter 1995 of the Statutes of 1961 (AB 730) pertains to Aid to Potentially Self-Supporting Blind Residents (Chapter 3). This new law permits a retention of property used as a home, irrespective of its value. Also, personal effects and an automobile needed for transportation are exempt in determining the total amount

of personal property which may be held. The APSB recipient continues, as at present, to be eligible if he does not own real and/or personal property in excess of \$5,000 assessed value, less encumbrances. This no longer includes the home. He can also have additional real and/or personal property up to another \$5,000 in value if it is determined that such additional property is necessary to implement a plan for self-support.

From the foregoing it will be readily apparent that the Legislature broadened considerably the property provisions governing the public assistance programs in California.

FATHER CARROLL'S "BLINDNESS": A BOOK REVIEW

By Dr. Floyd W. Matson

Blindness: What It Is, What It Does, and How to Live With It. By Rev. Thomas J. Carroll. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961.

The various problems and handicaps associated with "blindness and the blind" have in the past been written about, argued over and speculated upon from almost as many viewpoints -- or so it would seem -- as there have been writers, arguers and speculators. But underlying all this diversity two main avenues of approach to the subject are clearly discernible. The traditional literature on blindness, until well into our own century, tended predominantly to reflect the moral and spiritual concerns of those who manned the posts of the early charitable and benevolent institutions. Moreover, the heavily inspirational tone of the standard 19th-century contributions revealed (as it concealed) the paucity of reliable factual knowledge about blindness -- while at the same time it mirrored the general suspicion of the age that the total helplessness of the blind was to be assuaged, if at all, only through counsels of sympathy and salvation.

Something of that traditional approach, and that pessimistic appraisal, are still no doubt to be detected in present-day literature on blindness -- most notably, perhaps, in first-person narratives, popular treatises and fund-raising appeals. But the dominant note of most contemporary writings is strikingly and radically different. The "old-fashioned" moral atmosphere has been replaced by the antiseptic aura of science; the rambling narrative of

personal excursions "out of darkness into grace" has given way to the orderly progression of statistical tables, and the vocabulary of humanitarianism has been succeeded by the jargon of academic psychology and professional casework. A volume on blindness which once might have borne the title KEEP YOUR CHIN UP is more likely today to find publication under the label SOME ASPECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL REHABILITATION IN THE NON-WAR BLIND OF COOK COUNTY.

The most refreshing, if not the most important, thing about Father Carroll's new book is that it masterfully avoids the extremes of both of these opposed traditions, while it manages to incorporate much that is best in each of them. The author is, of course, himself the heir -- or the embodiment -- of both traditions. He is the founder and Director of St. Paul's Rehabilitation Center for the Blind in Boston; National Chaplain of the Blinded Veterans Association, and member of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Rehabilitation as well as of the World Commission on Research in Rehabilitation. Last year Father Carroll was the recipient of the Belle Greve memorial award of the National Rehabilitation Association for his "noteworthy development and imaginative administration of an adjustment center for the blind, for his special techniques in training rehabilitation personnel and for speeches and writing designed to give better public understanding of the blind." He is, in short, singularly qualified to undertake a study of blindness designed to reveal (as his subtitle stipulates) "what it is, what it does and how to live with it."

But his success is, nevertheless, only partial. In a work as comprehensive, not to say ambitious, in its intention as Father Carroll's, it is perhaps inevitable that the author's reach should somewhat exceed his grasp. The book is divided into four separate and substantial sections. The first part, "Analysis of What is Lost," is an appraisal of "lacks and losses" accompanying blindness -- mainly physical, sensory and psychological. Part Two, "Rehabilitation and Restoration," deals with problems of restoring skills and abilities; Part Three is concerned with the special problems of a variety of groups such as the congenitally blind, the multiply handicapped and the partially seeing; and the fourth part constitutes a study of organized social work and welfare practices for the blind. Even an author as broadly qualified and widely experienced as Father Carroll might be expected to accomplish these varied tasks rather unevenly -- and such is the case.

The most glaring weakness of the volume is in the final section on "Organized Work for the Blind" -- which is, indeed, by far the briefest part of the work (totaling only 35 pages). No mention at all is made here of the Social Security Act and the vast system of public welfare, national and state, which centers around the public assistance programs of Aid to the Blind and the social insurance provisions for the disabled. (In an earlier section, the author does urge the adoption of a vaguely defined social-insurance payment to the blind, but without recognition of existing OASI and disability protection and with a curiously blithe rejection of the established principle of aid under public assistance.) Nor is there any reference to the distinctive, and enormous, contributions made in the field over the years by the organized national movement of the blind in America. Several pages are devoted to "The Blindfold as a Training Tool," but none to the nationwide program of vending stands for the blind; still more space is given to the role of the sighted volunteer worker in a social agency, but there is no consideration of such vexed and vital problems of client-worker relations as that of "confidentiality" (see editorial elsewhere in this issue).

Generally on the credit side, however, is Father Carroll's lucid and liberal treatment of the issues surrounding "segregation" of blind persons in agency facilities for training, orientation and special employment. His forthright discussion of the limited values of sheltered workshops, in particular, should be "must" reading for all associated with this timeworn (if not wholly outworn) institution. In brief, his conclusion is that there is no legitimate place for the sheltered workshop either as a rehabilitation training facility or as a "production shop" employing blind persons capable of outside work; but that there may be a modest role for special centers offering remunerative opportunities for constructive work and leisure activity for the multiply disabled or permanently "marginal." Commendably, Father Carroll argues that where so-called production shops do continue to exist, "there seems every reason why they should be organized, in recognition of the employees' dignity as laboring men (and not by some paternalistic company union)." Even in the case of training shops and residual sheltered centers, he maintains, "it seems indicated at least that representatives of organized labor should sit on their boards, not only from the standpoint of community cooperation, but to protect the rights of labor in the community from unfair competition and to guard the rights of the blind workers who are the students or clients in these shops."

The author is evidently more at home, and more at ease, in the opening section of the book dealing with the "losses" of blindness. Each of several kinds of "loss" is analyzed in a separate chapter, such as: "Basic Losses to Psychological Security," "Losses in Basic Skills," "Losses in Communication," "Losses in Appreciation," and so on. What is immediately apparent from Father Carroll's lengthy list of "lacks and losses" is that it is oriented primarily toward deprivations of a personal character (whether physical or psychological) imposed by the condition of blindness. Such losses are, to be sure, serious and substantial enough to warrant volumes of description and prescription. But there are also other, and very different, deprivations associated with blindness -- no less real and critical in their effect -- that are not personal but social in origin and character. These are, briefly, the handicaps which society itself imposes upon those who lack sight: the handicaps of discrimination and prejudice, of exclusion and segregation, of custodialism and overprotection. In terms of "losses," they might be described as: loss of equality, loss of opportunity, loss of dignity, loss of privacy, loss of freedom of choice, loss of "normal" status and ordinary regard -- loss even, at some times and in some places, of the rights of citizenship.

These "social losses" accompanying the state of blindness are, no doubt, implicitly recognized throughout Father Carroll's book; and on more than one occasion they are given explicit mention. But nowhere do the oppressive social handicaps of blindness gain anything like the degree of attention and appraisal bestowed by the author upon the physical and psychological deprivations. The result is to give disproportionate emphasis to one side of the total picture of "what blindness is and how to live with it," while effectually minimizing its other side. And there are not a few authorities in the field of work with the blind who would maintain that the most serious of all the "losses" of blindness are the social losses -- and moreover that it is these losses which are most amenable to restoration, rehabilitation and reform.

WELFARE OF THE BLIND: STATE LEGISLATION SUMMARIZED

A broadly affirmative, if somewhat mixed, picture of legislative action in the field of blind welfare has been presented by the states this year, according to a summary of activity reported in the October, 1961, issue of PUBLIC

WELFARE, official journal of the American Public Welfare Association.

Some of the highlights of the partial legislative survey -- listed alphabetically by state -- follow:

CONNECTICUT: The \$85 earned income exemption in Aid to the Blind will be applicable to the state program effective July 1, 1962. The statutes relating to the Board of Education of the Blind were clarified, including a provision for confidentiality of records. The definition of blindness was up-dated and standardized.

ILLINOIS: A bill was passed exempting the cash surrender value of life insurance with a face value of \$1,000 or less in determination of the amount of assistance a blind recipient may receive. Bills failed of passage which were designed to increase standards in Blind Assistance by 10 percent and to exempt from financial responsibility the parents of blind recipients who are over 21 years of age.

MISSOURI: Earned income exemption in Aid to the Blind raised from \$50 a month to the first \$85 of earned income, plus one-half of that in excess of \$85. In addition the maximum of \$10,000 on total property was removed; cash and security maximum of \$1,000 and \$2,000 changed to a personal property maximum of \$1,500 and \$2,500 and it was specified that determination of value of personal property shall exclude the home of the blind person or spouse, burial lot, real or personal property used directly by the blind person in remunerative employment, and clothing, furniture, household equipment and personal jewelry. Another bill makes it possible to use the same examiners for Blind Pension recipients as to determine vision for AB, removes the \$5.00 limitation on the examination charge and the requirement that the cost of the examination be taken out of recipient's first check.

NEBRASKA: This state also passed the above revision on earned income in AB to conform to recent changes in federal law. A law which failed to pass would have removed the present \$100 maximum on BA payments and relieved brothers, sisters and parents of their legal obligation to support applicants and recipients of blind assistance.

NORTH CAROLINA: In addition to revising the law to conform to the new federal regulations, as above, the specific limitation on amount of payments was deleted to allow up to the maximum of federal matching. Another bill established procedure for appointment of a personal representative for an AB recipient on the same basis as provided

in 1959 for OAA, ADC and APTD recipients.

OREGON: A new act will replace on January 1, 1962, the present Aid to the Blind legislation. Provisions include a minimum grant of \$85 a month exclusive of medical, surgical and hospital care; that an otherwise eligible applicant is eligible if he becomes blind while in Oregon or has been a resident of the state for three years preceding date of application.

PENNSYLVANIA: Amount which may be spent in 18 months on a single remedial eye case was increased from \$250 to \$1,000.

SOUTH CAROLINA: There was a \$50,000 increase in the appropriation for AB; \$25,000 increase of that for treatment and training. An act was passed permitting all blind residents to fish or hunt without a license.

WISCONSIN: The legislature passed a joint resolution urging the department to increase the rate of pay for blind workers employed in the sheltered workshop at Milwaukee. Another bill made an appropriation for payment to the Milwaukee City Library for providing library services for the talking book program for the blind, which has heretofore been serviced out of Chicago. The legislature passed the authorizing legislation to permit raising the earned income exemption for the blind to \$85 per month on July 1, 1962, in accordance with federal plan requirements.

BROTHERS . . . & OTHERS

An "Equal-Status" Agency for the Blind. Following is a portion of an editorial which appeared in THE JEWISH BRAILLE REVIEW (February, 1961), edited by Dr. Jacob Freid, Executive Director of the Jewish Braille Institute of America:

"Why are ... all our materials free [to any blind person who wishes them]? To charge for them would require social service investigation, the power to withhold materials and services from those whom the investigator felt to be able to pay, or deemed unworthy. This power to withhold is too frequently corrupted and corrupting. It sets up subjective inferiority-superiority relationships between the agency worker and the client and destroys the equal status concept. Further, if we were to require payment from the blind who can afford it, it would mean

that we were dispensing charity to the others. And our services, materials and publications are not charity -- they are the discharge of American Jewry's essential and important obligation to permit the Jewish blind to be normal individuals who lead normal lives despite a visual disability -- lives that give fulfillment to aspirations, talents and personalities rather than frustration. This is our aim and objective. That is why your editor fought for the Kennedy-Baring bill for equal rights for the blind in organization, representation and voice in all matters affecting their welfare. It is tragic that the National Federation of the Blind, which is the foremost champion of the blind, should now be impeded by internecine warfare from its appointed tasks.

"The road to tomorrow is hard, but it must be traversed. To the objective of first-class citizenship for the blind this periodical is entirely dedicated, and it welcomes its readers to join it as front-line soldiers in what Heinrich Heine called the liberation war for humanity."

Progress of British Blind Reported. From the 77th Annual Report (1961) of the Royal National Institute for the Blind: "With your help we have, through our rehabilitation centres, enabled 400 newly blind men and women to come to terms with their overwhelming loss, found employment in industry and commerce for 350 sightless whose training has been completed, and printed far in excess of 600,000 highly prized volumes of braille literature and music. Not only this, but, sensitive to the changing pattern of blindness in the young, we have been quick to alter the character of our schools to meet the special needs of the increasing number of young girls and boys who today suffer additional mental or physical handicaps."

Glaucoma Screening. A grant from the New York Lighthouse for the Blind has made possible the establishment of a Glaucoma Screening Demonstration Project within the Ophthalmology Department of New York Medical College, according to the LIGHTHOUSE NEWS, a publication of the New York Association for the Blind. The journal anticipated that 8,000 patients will be examined for chronic glaucoma during the next 12 months under auspices of the project. Two percent of the population was said to be suffering, unknowingly, from simple chronic glaucoma, one of the

leading causes of blindness in this country.

Need for Books Still Great. There are now 65,000 blind readers registered with the 31 regional libraries associated with the Library of Congress' program for the blind, according to THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND (October, 1961). But the number needing library services is much greater -- at least 120,000 potential users. "An expansion of the library program is due -- both in the number of users and in the number and variety of books provided," the American Foundation periodical declared. "When we consider that half of all blind people are 65 years old or older with little else to do with their leisure time, we can understand that the need is imperative indeed."

Public Welfare and the Newcomer. From an article by James R. Dumpson, "Public Welfare and the Newcomer in the Community," PUBLIC WELFARE, October, 1961:

"The right of the newcomer to assistance and care when he is in need should not be determined by a time limit of residence. I am not aware that any state has established a residence requirement as eligibility for receiving protection of the fire or police departments -- services that are as publicly supported as our welfare services. No, the facts about the newcomer do not support a logic that excludes them either from the responsibilities of citizenship in a community or from the rights and privileges provided all the citizens residing in the community. Prejudice against the newcomer, and in our major metropolitan areas against the newcomer with obvious ethnic and cultural differences, permeates efforts to deny them the services of public welfare. Public welfare leadership must take the initiative in resisting these efforts, not only in the interest of the newcomer but, indeed, in the interest of the welfare of the entire community."

Bible Stories on Record. Sixteen famous Bible stories, each dramatized by a cast of well-known actors, have been produced on long-playing recordings by the Library of Sound Education, Inc., 124 East 40th Street, New York 16,

New York. Each of the eight records contains two complete stories and is available from the above firm at a special price to blind persons of \$2.45 (or \$15.95 for the set of eight). The stories re-enacted on each recording are as follows: (1) Noah and the Ark, Story of Joseph; (2) Moses: Egypt, Moses: Promised Land; (3) Battle of Jericho, Samson; (4) Ruth, David and King Saul; (5) David and Goliath, Solomon; (6) Daniel in Lion's Den, Statue of Gold; (7) Birth of Christ, Good Samaritan; (8) Prodigal Son, Events Surrounding Last Supper. The recordings, on 12-inch 33 1/3 RPM discs, are said to be playable on a Talking Book Machine with still better performance obtainable on hi-fi phonographic equipment.

The West Coast Regional Conference of the American Public Welfare Association was held October 16-18 in Berkeley, California. Among welfare developments reported in the direction of expanding employment and self-support was the finding of Santa Clara County, California, that its employment service efforts were netting a savings of \$1 million per year in potential expenditures for persons on public assistance. The conference also heard the report of a Washington county that after an extensive employment service program with 320 families the total monthly aid payments had dropped from \$42,000 to \$3,000.

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BROTHERS . . . & OTHERS

BLIND FRANCISCAN CLERIC ATTAINS GOAL

By Anthony Mannino

(Editor's note: Mr. Mannino is Executive Secretary of the American Brotherhood for the Blind and makes his home in Los Angeles, California.)

On Saturday, December 23, 1961, in the chapel of Old Mission Santa Barbara, California, a young blind man will realize an ambition which most people thought impossible for him to attain. Frater Keith Forster will be ordained a priest in the Order of Friars Minor.

This is, to the best of our information, only the second time in the long history of the Catholic Church that such an event has occurred (and we have been unable to confirm either the fact or the circumstances of the first occurrence). Understandably, as soon as I learned of the coming ordination of the blind cleric, I arranged for an interview with him in connection with a chartered tour of the Mission by the Los Angeles Catholic Guild of the Blind.

Frater Keith is twenty-seven years old. His home was originally in Sacramento, California, but now he and his parents reside in Santa Barbara. It was at the age of fourteen, while still with sight, that Keith decided upon the priesthood as his life work. He began his studies at St. Anthony Seminary in Old Mission Santa Barbara. The four years there were followed by a year as a novitiate at San Miguel, and another three years at San Luis Rey. This completed his preparation for the final four years at the Senior Seminary in Old Mission Santa Barbara.

It was here, in his second year, that Frater Keith was stricken by illness, culminating in the loss of his sight. After a year, he regained his health but only a small degree of vision. To resume his studies meant the facing and overcoming of great obstacles. It was doubtful that the Church had ever ordained a blind person into the priesthood. He had three more years of the most difficult studies to complete. There were endless pages and books in Latin to be read and absorbed, with many passages and liturgies to be memorized. His friends and the Franciscan Fathers themselves thought that this would be an impossible task for Keith.

But the young cleric refused to be halted. He asked for a chance to go on with his studies at Senior Seminary. With great understanding, the Franciscan Fathers decided they would take no official action to bar Frater Keith from the Order. They would let him continue his studies for one year to see what he would do and whether he could carry on his work with satisfactory progress.

In preparing for this new phase in his life, Frater Keith received instruction in braille from Wilbur Radcliff, a state home teacher from Los Angeles. The late Roger Boggs, a friend in Santa Barbara, also aided him in learning cane travel. Wilbur tells us that it took only a few lessons for the young cleric to acquire a useful knowledge of braille. After completing what proved to be a successful trial year, the Franciscan Fathers agreed that he would be able to carry on his work in the Senior Seminary and most of the duties of his calling. They petitioned the Church authorities for permission to let the young brother complete his studies for the priesthood. The petition was granted, and now Frater Keith has finished the final two years which are to be climaxed by ordination into the Order of Friars Minor, Santa Barbara Province.

Asked about the methods and tools he used in mastering his study material, Frater Keith said that in class he used the slate and stylus for note-taking, but that most of his learning and studying was accomplished with the aid of his tape recorder. His classmates read to him on tape -- and he now remarks laughingly that they learned the material at the same time he did. His room was almost a workshop for the group (and we might add that his own pleasant personality must have made it a pleasure to work with Keith).

During his years at Santa Barbara, Keith has been a member of a two-man crew engaged in doing carpentry, electrical and plumbing work about the establishment. He also serves as a tour guide when he has the spare time; he proved this ability most recently by efficiently conducting the tour of our large group.

Following his ordination, Keith reports that he will spend a pastoral year -- a sort of internship -- in Stockton, California. Then he will be ready for an assignment from his superiors. He has expressed the hope that he may be a teacher or otherwise work with young people in the field of education.

Let us wish Frater Keith Godspeed on his way, with admiration for his success as a trail-blazer in a new and high calling.

THESE MOUNTING ATTACKS ON WELFARE

An Editorial

The following item appeared recently in a feature column of THE BERKELEY REVIEW, a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California:

"In that monkey-see, monkey-do fashion popular with publishers in our culture, popular magazines are producing articles which purport to be exposes of 'welfare scandals' faster than rabbits produce little rabbits.

"Most of these articles are simply not true; sometimes a few facts are interwoven with the not-facts and opinions which are rampant, but on the whole they prove what they set out to prove.

"As far as we can see, dishonesty is a vice, whether it appears in an occasional misuse of funds set aside to care for those who need care, or in the writers of magazine articles, or the publishers of magazines willing to pervert truth for private gain. If anything, the sophistication and cynicism of editors and writers makes them a little more culpable than a client who doesn't know any better.

"With these sober thoughts in mind, we were delighted to hear -- second-hand but on very good authority -- that a certain well-known local writer refused to write an article on Aid to Dependent Children for a national magazine because he could not, in good conscience, slant the article the way the editors wished to have it slanted.

"He didn't, he said, need that kind of money."

Unfortunately, writers with such convictions as these (and courage to stick by them) are not as common as rabbits. Most such journalistic exposures, for that matter, are staff-researched and staff-written jobs with little room for discretion on the part of their employee-writers. Over recent months considerable published evidence has accumulated to support the inference that editors and publishers seeking a scandal to exploit are finding a vulnerable and favorite target in the sprawling field of public welfare.

A notable straw in this ill wind was the much-publicized "crackdown on chisellers" conducted earlier this year by officials of Newburgh, New York (see "Newburgh: A Counter-revolution in Welfare?" THE BLIND AMERICAN, September, 1961).

Although the Newburgh experiment in punitive welfare has plainly backfired and become a source of embarrassment to many of its original advocates, its loud explosion has touched off a chain reaction of similar sleuthing expeditions and crackdowns across the country.

Many of these attacks are cited, and seconded, in a recent LOOK Magazine article (November 7, 1961) prominently displayed on the cover under the label "The Scandal of Welfare Chiseling." The degree of objectivity reached by LOOK's report is immediately evident in its opening sentence: "An almost visible wave of resentment has begun to roll across the land against the rackets and abuses that plague the vast, ever-growing American welfare programs."

Whether in fact such a national "wave of resentment" does exist, one sure way of fomenting it would seem to be to beat the drums and sound the alarm in the near-hysterical tones of the above quotation. Ironically, the dangers of such passionate denunciation are recognized by LOOK itself, in the final sentence of the same article: "If the people get mad, the pendulum could swing too far again, with disastrous results to the destitute and the disabled."

But it is hard to see, on the strength of LOOK's own angry expose, how "the people" could do other than get mad -- and how their madness might stop short of swinging the pendulum like an axe against the whole structure of modern public welfare -- specifically, against the categorical aid programs of social security (including Aid to the Blind) which bear the brunt of the magazine's condemnation. For if the alleged facts set forth by LOOK are the whole truth or anything like it, the entire body of public welfare programming in America stands revealed as nothing less than a vast boondoggle, a system of human spoilage rather than salvage -- in short, a racket.

Here are a few of the more sweeping charges contained in LOOK's article (authored by Fletcher Knebel of the magazine's Washington Bureau); "And almost everywhere the eye of the investigator probes, the same theme emerges: The house of welfare is in disorder. In some places, it is downright disorderly. . . . The original conception of the great welfare programs, many of which started during depression days, has been warped and twisted out of all reason. Instead of giving temporary aid to those in need through no fault of their own, welfare rolls now harbor hundreds of thousands of the shiftless, cheats and criminals. . . . The rules and regulations of the Social

Security Administration have become a morass of complexity. When the rules are complex, the evaders, the frauds and the rationalizers take over. . . . Almost everywhere that the investigative eye probes in the vast welfare field, it finds fraud and a mocking of the basic standards of need."

Interspersed between these declarations of virtually unqualified condemnation and recrimination are a collection of isolated instances and episodes of individual abuse or misuse of welfare funds (mostly the receipt of checks by persons apparently ineligible). Such journalistic tactics as these fall squarely within the tradition of tabloid sensationalism. It goes without saying that in a welfare system which embraces a clientele numbering millions of citizens, and whose rules and regulations are constantly undergoing change to meet the needs of an exploding population, anyone who wishes may have a field day running down anecdotes and turning up lurid cases to prove the existence of instability and error. But it is, of course, no less possible for an observer genuinely interested in the truth to put aside the magnifying-glass of the sleuth and attempt to view the national welfare scene in perspective.

Nowhere in LOOK's elaborate report is any recognition given to the positive and constructive achievements of our welfare laws and programs -- for example, to the dedicated service year in and year out of the host of underpaid workers in the field, or to the vast contributions which have been made through social security over a generation not only to the economic security but to the dignity, opportunity, equality and human hopes of many millions of disabled and disadvantaged Americans.

Something of this neglected side of welfare is suggested in a reminiscence of the well-known author R. L. Duffus: "His insecurity," he wrote of a friend, "was not necessary, either, nor would he have been quite so insecure had he been born a generation later. I think of him when I hear it said that social security kills initiative. I know this: that the lack of it killed men."

No doubt the social security system has changed in many ways since the days of the great depression. It is no longer solely geared to the emergency relief of temporary distress -- although it is still committed to that too. It has come increasingly to recognize and accommodate the means of rehabilitation and restoration, and more exactly of self-support and self-care, for significant groups of citizens such as the blind whose disability is far from

transient and whose overriding need is for social re-integration rather than for special shelter. Significantly, despite the shrill tones and sweeping charges of its article, LOOK itself appears to espouse this constructive goal of the welfare system. Among its concluding recommendations is the following: "Place rehabilitation on a par with relief, even if this costs more at the start." All citizens who are genuinely concerned with the improvement rather than the abandonment of our modern welfare programs might take heart from this isolated expression of approval -- in the hope that it may eventually furnish the basis for a "sober second LOOK."

NAGLE VS. HILDRETH: ARIZONA AID LAW DEBATED

A significant public debate over Arizona's controversial welfare (or anti-welfare) plan -- pitting its official advocates against representatives of the organized blind and of organized labor -- was staged there in October over statewide television facilities.

Moderated by TV personality Stan Calhoun, the half-hour debate featured Fen Hildreth, Arizona State Commissioner of Welfare; Mrs. Christine Small, director of the state's bureau of public assistance; John F. Nagle, head of the Washington Office of the National Federation of the Blind, and Keene Brown, Secretary-Treasurer of the Arizona State AFL-CIO.

The argument centered around the recent proposal by Commissioner Hildreth that Arizona reject the new and more liberal Federal amendments to social security Aid to the Blind raising the exemption of earned income for recipients from \$50 to \$85 monthly plus half of any additional earnings. (See articles in THE BLIND AMERICAN, August and September, 1961.)

Under questioning from Nagle, the Arizona welfare chief admitted that the state stands to lose "somewhere close to \$400,000" in Federal funds for blind assistance should its legislature elect to go along with Hildreth's proposal and thus be held out of conformity with social security requirements. He stated further that Arizona could not afford to give up the "close to \$19 million" of Federal money presently contributed to its public assistance programs, but continued:

However, individual programs, like people, can be individualized. Now Arizona never took advantage of Federal funds for its crippled children, for example, and I think that this was not too bad, because I feel that we were able to run a sound crippled children's program without Federal aid, bringing it down to the line program.

I think it would be unfortunate if we lost Federal aid to the blind," Hildreth said. But he added that, "because it happens to be the smallest of our aid programs, I think it would be possible, financially, to do without Federal aid as far as the technicality of whether we could finance it or not is concerned."

Mrs. Small, supporting the case for the exclusive Arizona plan, maintained that only a minute fraction of the state's estimated 2,367 blind residents would be affected in any case by the exempt-earnings provision on the basis of employability. Declaring that the great majority of blind-aid recipients are over 65, and hence to be regarded as unemployable, she went on significantly to include within this category another and different group of blind individuals who might well be surprised to learn of their classification as unemployables: "Also in this group there is a large number of non-English-speaking individuals and others who are eliminated because they have never had educational opportunities. This reduces the number again."

Brown, the labor spokesman in the panel discussion, joined with the NFB's John Nagle in stressing the rehabilitative purpose of the liberalized exemption provision -- its encouragement to the blind recipient to become self-supporting. He contrasted the average \$105 weekly earnings of an Arizona industrial worker covered by the minimum wage law with the average grant to blind aid recipients of \$72.42 per month .. "in other words, about 45 cents an hour on the average or about \$18 per week; that is what they have to live on, and that is not right."

The AFL-CIO representative also expressed himself as "amused at those who are always opposed to Federal assistance. Arizona is receiving many millions of dollars today in Federal assistance. If we want to be consistent in this philosophy, then why not eliminate all Federal assistance and see what sort of situation Arizona's economy would be in?"

Nagle pointed out that by rejecting Federal funds for its blind aid program Arizona would be compelled to cut its working staff and expenditures to a minimum, thereby

depriving recipients of adequate rehabilitative and other services geared to helping them off public assistance rolls and on the way to self-support. "We are not going to solve this problem by trying to do it through a state appropriation, because the revenue isn't here in Arizona. I think we just have to be honest about this," Nagle stated.

Pointing to California's successful experience under the new Federal formula, the NFB spokesman demonstrated that "if California's experience is valid for Arizona as well, and we believe that it is, then the total additional expenditure in the state under the new Federal amendment would be \$1,800 per month, or a total of \$21,600 annually" -- in contrast to the projected \$60,000 to \$70,000 increase in state costs predicted earlier by Commissioner Hildreth.

WHERE IS THE WHITE CANE LEADING US?

The controversy over the white cane, recently re-stimulated by attacks and counter attacks printed in THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND, currently shows signs of raging on unabated both in and out of THE NEW OUTLOOK'S pages. (For background on these developments, see "American Foundation Attacks White Cane," THE BLIND AMERICAN, June, 1961; "The White Cane Defended," THE BLIND AMERICAN, September, 1961.)

Triple-barreled testimony to the continued liveliness of the white cane debate is offered in the current (November) issue of THE NEW OUTLOOK, which is, of course, the periodical voice of the American Foundation for the Blind. In addition to full-page discussion in the regular column, "Editorially Speaking," the journal has also given over its correspondence column to two views on the white cane and -- finally and most prominently of all -- has published a full-scale article defending the use of the cane from a legal standpoint.

Of immediate interest to many readers is the fact that the article, "Practical and Legal Operation and Effects of White Cane Laws," is authored by William Taylor, Jr., a Pennsylvania attorney long active in organizations of the blind at the state and national levels, as well as in White Cane Week campaigns. Another well-known federationist, William Klontz of Iowa, is the contributor of a lengthy and closely reasoned letter also defending the white cane both as a symbol and as an aid to mobility for the blind.

In his incisive discussion of legal and practical aspects of the white cane, Mr. Taylor seeks expressly to show that "(a) white cane laws and public safety campaigns supplement and strengthen travel and orientation training programs, and therefore they cannot conflict; (b) those inclined to attack these laws may be persuaded to desist, and instead to do all within their power to teach blind people how best to make use of them and of the cane in order to procure the greatest practical degree of safety for themselves and other users of the highway."

After a succinct survey of duties and obligations imposed by law upon drivers and blind pedestrians -- and a convincing demonstration that white cane laws are in fact "substantially uniform" in the fifty states despite superficial differences -- Mr. Taylor concludes: "Let the blind pedestrian be taught both the limitations of the white cane laws and of the white cane, and above all how best to display it 'conspicuously' enough to put the careful driver on notice." His article closes with a plea "that we unite in doing all we can to get for the blind the best travel and orientation training, combined with safety instruction as to the use of the cane. Moreover, let us join in doing all we can to educate the public not only that the white cane is a tool to increase safety and mobility but is a symbol of a blind man's determination and ability not only to travel but to lead a productive and worthwhile life."

Mr. Klontz, in his letter to THE NEW OUTLOOK, takes issue directly with the attitude of earlier articles that the white cane is "a stereotype of blindness, and that we must get away from anything that identifies us as blind people." His letter also refutes the criticism that state white cane laws are not identical and that the cane is worthless because it is not an infallible guarantee against accident. Recalling the historical significance the white cane has held for the blind of America, Mr. Klontz points out that state laws whatever their differences "are all aiming at the same purpose, safety for blind pedestrians ... Instead of opposing the white cane because of these differences, the American Federation for the Blind should be carrying on research for some means of improving them, not destroying them."

While the white cane cannot provide complete protection for the blind pedestrian, "it can make the motorist and other pedestrians conscious of his presence and hence enhance his chance of safety," Mr. Klontz declares. "I maintain that holding on to the arm of a secretary or to the harness of a dog is just as much a stereotype of blindness as a white cane, and that the new techniques of cane travel

would be more useful if the uniform white-colored cane were always used. The public must be given a chance. We cannot change our mode of travel as often as we change our code in braille and expect motorists to use caution. Actually thousands of blind people have gained confidence to step out alone with a white cane. Would you destroy this confidence because of an occasional accident? How many people would drive cars today if they were frightened from the highways because there are so many weekend accidents?"

As these terse communications to THE NEW OUTLOOK strongly indicate, the editors of that widely circulated and professionally influential journal succeeded in provoking considerable controversy through publication of their earlier article and editorial (May, 1961) calling into question the usefulness of white canes and white cane laws. According to Managing Editor Howard M. Liechty, writing in the present issue, much of the response has displayed "an emotionally charged interest" opposed to that expressed in the anti-cane articles. Observing that the views of its contributing authors are not necessarily those of the publisher, he states that nonetheless THE NEW OUTLOOK will continue to press "objective" investigations of the white cane movement:

"No record comes to mind of any very thorough and objective analysis of the pros and cons of the white cane since its inception in 1930. . . . If it will stand scrutiny the white cane movement has nothing to fear; if it won't pass muster let's be informed about it. With readers' help we endeavor to think constructively in the current discussion and we hope sometime to reach an unbiased evaluation of this movement in all its ramifications," the editorial concludes.

Members of organizations of the blind having long and close ties with the white cane movement, as well as individuals convinced of the efficacy of the cane in traffic, may well salute THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND for its fair-minded treatment of the cane in the present issue. They may, however, also venture to hope that the promised "objective" and "unbiased" investigations in future will not be so detached from the human and social values involved as to dismiss all firm commitments as "bias" and all vigorous expressions of them as merely "emotionally charged."

THREE OUT-CASTES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

by

Professor Jacobus tenBroek

[Editor's note: The following address by the President of the American Brotherhood for the Blind was delivered earlier this year before the congregation of the University Christian Church of Des Moines, Iowa.]

All of us know the Ten Commandments -- the Decalogue of Divine law recorded in the Book of Exodus. But how many of us remember the numerous other commandments, no less sacred and no less binding, set forth elsewhere in the Holy Bible? How many recall, for example, the commandment contained in Leviticus: "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind."

How different would have been the social progress of the blind, and how improved their present status, if that Divine directive had been taken to heart by all who have professed their faith in the Good Book!

The ancient term "stumbling-block" -- whose original reference was literally and specifically addressed to the blind -- has since come into our common language chiefly in the figurative sense in which a modern dictionary defines it: namely, "an obstacle or hindrance to progress or belief." This is as it should be. Ever since the days of Moses, it has been the figurative stumbling-blocks -- the intangible obstacles or hindrances to progress and belief -- which have lain most perilously athwart the path of the blind. The meaning of the commandment, for us today, is as specific as it ever was; its message is not only literal but symbolic as well. It says to us: "Thou shalt not put a stumbling-block before the blind whether of wood or stone, whether in law or in vocation, whether of substance or of spirit, whether of discrimination or prejudice -- neither shalt thou suffer any to remain in their path."

But it is not the blind alone before whom are placed stumbling-blocks. I should like to speak this morning about a sinister stumbling-block in the path of our democracy -- which takes the form of a social caste system. More exactly, what I want to talk about is a system of "out-castes."

You all know the meaning of "caste," as social scientists use the term. A caste is a social class which has become rigid and immobilized -- which neither moves itself nor permits movement out of it. In such countries as India, where caste is hereditary, one's very life and livelihood may be permanently fixed by the caste one belongs to. The status of high caste is displayed like a badge; that of low caste is worn like a brand.

The lowest castes of all -- the pariahs or Untouchables -- are less a part of their community than apart from it.

Every society, primitive or modern, may be said to have its own Untouchables -- or reasonable facsimile thereof. They are the out-castes, dwelling on the margins of society: among them are the disadvantaged and disfranchised, the deviant and deprived, the "beat" and the offbeat.

Nor is America an exception to the rule, for all its vaunted classlessness and social mobility. There are more such groups among us than I have time or competence to describe. Three conspicuous out-castes of American society are the blind, the Negroes, and former convicts.

Few social groups, on the face of it, appear more radically different from one another than these three. And indeed each of them is unique in its origins and its distinctive needs. Among the three only the blind present a problem which has its source, if not its main expression, in physical disability. The special dilemma of racial minorities, and in particular of the Negro, arises from an accidental variation in skin pigmentation which has taken on as well a kind of "cultural coloration." Finally, the peculiar problem of the ex-convict springs originally from his own individual action -- in contrast to the others, whose "guilt," if it may be called that, is by association.

There are other differences, scarcely less definitive, among these social out-castes. The histories of each are widely divergent. The heritage from which the blind still seek to be liberated is one of custodialism and charity; for the former felon it is a tradition of lifelong condemnation and social exile; for the Negro it is the inextinguishable memory of slavery.

As the three groups differ in their backgrounds, so do they differ in many of their needs. The blind alone require such services as physical retraining, adjustment, and vocational rehabilitation. Only the Negro finds himself barred on sight from the ordinary restaurants, churches, schools and residences of the community. In his turn, the former convict faces problems no less distinct: branded by a requirement of public registration, his privacy invaded, his right of anonymity destroyed, his credit nullified and his freedom of contract impaired, his citizen's rights to vote, to hold office, to sit on juries, to enter public service, all cast in jeopardy.

The differences among these groups are numerous and profound. Yet I wish to speak here not of differences but of similarities -- for the likenesses among these three out-castes are no less striking and scarcely less profound. In fact, they are so compelling that for certain practical purposes of life and livelihood the three groups may almost be treated

as one.

Most important of all is the fact of their common stigma as social out-castes. All three groups labor under a social handicap -- a stereotype fixed upon them by the community which sets them apart from its main body and keeps them out of its main stream. In short, they are all victims of public prejudice and of the active discriminations it engenders -- however much that prejudice may differ among them in both its roots and its fruits.

What these out-groups share most in common, in other words, is not some physical trait or innate characteristic, but a social and psychological image. It is not something in themselves, but something outside and around them, which provides the parallel. That parallel, of course, is closest and most obvious with respect to the blind and the Negro. Thus, for example, one recent study of the blind has called attention to what its authors term "the minority parallel." In both instances, they maintain, "the phenomenon is one of a group of people whom the majority insists on endowing with special characteristics, for whom a stereotype has been evolved which each member of the minority is supposed to exemplify, and the essence of which is the imputation of inferiority." We may wish to qualify this diagnosis with respect to some minorities; but I think we would all agree that in the cases of the blind man and the black man society does indeed clothe its venerable practices of exclusion and discrimination with a sweeping assumption of inferiority -- if not also of abnormality and incompetence.

This is the crux of the matter. Both of these out-castes -- the blind and the Negro -- aim above all at integration and away from the segregation which has been their lot. The official motto of the National Federation of the Blind is "Security, Equality, Opportunity." That motto might equally stand, without change, as the slogan of the NAACP. Each of these objectives, moreover, depends upon the others: there can be no genuine security without access to opportunity; there can be no effective opportunity without an acceptance of equality. The attack upon that American dilemma which we know as the "Negro problem" -- as upon the less publicized but no less profound dilemma which confronts the blind -- is therefore a three-pronged attack. It is an attack on the economic front, for the expansion of job opportunity; it is an attack on the political front, for the enactment and enforcement of fair employment practices and an end to segregation; and it is an attack on the educational front, for the diffusion of knowledge and understanding and the consequent erosion of the stereotypes of inferiority and incompetence.

I said earlier that the blind person and the Negro may be

distinguished from the former convict by the fact that their guilt in the eyes of society is strictly guilt by association. The American who is blind or colored finds himself judged not on his individual record or performance but by his involuntary membership in a socially defined (if very imperfectly defined) class: that of the "blind" or of the "colored." But there is an important sense in which this stereotype-casting is equally the fate of the ex-convict. For he also is a member of a defined if spurious class: the class of "criminals." It is a class from which he cannot easily graduate, however full his penance or firm his resolve. Despite the remarkable advances of the last century in criminology and social science, popular attitudes remain largely in the horse-and-buggy era of Lombroso -- as expressed in the dreary homilies that criminals are born and not made, that the purpose of prisons is retribution not rehabilitation, and that he who has walked a crooked path cannot ever go straight. The very term "ex-convict" carries its own irony; for that "ex," which should be a sign of emancipation, symbolizes instead the mark of the jail-house which can never be quite erased.

The case of the former convict is in many ways a special one; but with respect to the paramount problems of life and livelihood the minority parallel is scarcely less compelling here. Our democratic American faith enjoins discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or "previous condition of servitude." Although this latter phrase was intended originally to apply to former slaves, it has a literal application to the former convict. His social condition is in fact very much like that of the Negro freedman after the Civil War; although officially released from penal servitude, he too is the victim of a prejudice which has not yet been liberated. Although in theory he has atoned for his crime and paid his price, he is not welcomed as an equal but shunned as a pariah. Not only is equality denied him; his opportunity is critically circumscribed. Often the only references he can offer to employers are those supplied by his former jailers; typically he is relegated to the menial and undesirable jobs which others turn down, at lower wages than those who work with him. If by dint of exceptional effort he struggles upward to a position of responsibility, his record will return to haunt him. And not only equality and opportunity are refused him but dignity itself. Just three years ago the Supreme Court of the United States upheld a Los Angeles city ordinance requiring all ex-felons to register with the authorities upon entering the community. By its action the court in effect underwrote the doctrine that a prison record is so crucial a fact about a man that he may be compelled to subject himself to police harassment for the remainder of his life wherever he goes in the land. For numbers of our cities have enacted such ordinances in order to be able to round up all ex-cons when a crime is committed. The effect upon the individual is obvious: "This registration," as one expert has concluded, "is a vicious practice for it exposes the conscientious ex-prisoner to"

intimidation and perhaps even blackmail by insecure police officers or those who are badgered by their superiors to arrest someone." The Supreme Court, by the way, took note of the fact that such enactments were on the books of numerous communities across the country. But the justices were not prepared to face the question whether this discriminatory requirement rests upon the assumption "once a criminal, always a criminal" -- the dictum that a wrongdoer's debt to society is never paid but rather goes on accumulating interest which can be met only by periodic drafts upon his dignity, privacy, and freedom of action.

The loss of civil rights by the former prisoner within our states is thoroughly shocking in its depth and extent. Here are only a few of the rights of which he may be deprived, in many or all of our states: the right to vote; the right to hold public office; the right to make a contract; the right to serve as a juror or testify as a witness; the right to employment in the Federal or State Civil Service; the right to marry at will; the right to enter numerous businesses, professions or occupations -- such as those pursued by doctors, lawyers, cab-drivers and pawnbrokers -- in which "good moral character" is a formal requirement. In these circumstances, what is remarkable is not that many former criminals return to the scene (and environment) of their crime -- but that any of them do not. "The world's thy jailer," wrote the poet John Donne; four centuries later, his words convey an awful truth for the man released from an American prison.

The peculiar "marginality" of the ex-felon stems, in short, from the fact that he is poised precariously between two worlds: that of conventional society and that of organized crime. To the extent that the world rejects him, the underworld is waiting to embrace him. The community, looking out from its glass houses of prejudice, righteously demands of the former convict that he change his ways. But the demand is hypocritical unless the community is also prepared to change its own ways -- by extending to this rejected minority, as well as to others, the genuine prospects of security, equality, and opportunity.

Let me now try to draw the minority parallel among these groups a little tighter. It has long been recognized by social scientists that the field of employment is at once the area of the worst discrimination against minorities and the one in which practical reforms have the best chance of success. It is surely the economics of prejudice which work the greatest hardship upon the blind, the Negro, and the ex-convict. Moreover, it is also in this field that the minority parallel is closest, especially between the first two groups; for the blind are subjected to much the same kinds of treatment as Negroes in the job market. Both minorities find themselves denied access to certain "higher" vocations and industries, on grounds of their supposed

inability to handle the work; both find themselves segregated within special establishments (called "Jim Crow" houses in the one case, and sheltered workshops in the other). Both are typically confined to the most menial and rudimentary of occupations, as well as to those which are in any way unattractive to "normal" or "white" employees.

Most similar of all in their effects are the widespread suppositions of the inferiority and incompetence of Negroes and the blind. I have never seen this attitude better expressed, with reference to the blind, than in a brief communication I received a few years ago from a public administrator, in reply to my question whether blindness by itself was a factor in deciding on an applicant's fitness for employment. "Your letter," he wrote, "raises the old question of whether we, as civil service administrators, are to adhere to the principle for which we were brought into existence of securing the most highly competent employees obtainable for the public service, or whether we should take into account other considerations than competency. Helping the blind has its strong appeal to the sensibilities of everyone. On the other hand, we should avoid making the public service an eleemosynary institution."

I can't resist one more anecdote on similar lines -- this one told by an eminent figure in the rehabilitation field, Dr. Henry Kessler. It illustrates as well as any I know the stereotype of incompetence by which the employment of blind persons in opposition to all the facts, continues to be regarded as an essentially charitable if not rather foolhardy proposition:

"While I was out on the west coast during the war period, when it was difficult to secure labor and manpower, there was an employer who required some help in his office. He had filled his quota of employees from the War Manpower Commission. It was suggested to him by the WMC that he secure the services of a blind dictaphone operator, and he replied, 'Do you think she can do the work?' 'Why, of course,' was the answer. 'I will underwrite her.' Reluctantly, he accepted the proposal and he hired this blind dictaphone operator, and she almost revolutionized the work of his office. She did the work of five girls. He prospered and he needed more help. Again he applied to the WMC. They suggested to him, 'Why don't you get another blind dictaphone operator?' Whereupon he arose in all his dignity and said, 'I have done my bit.'"

Until fairly recently, to be sure, there was some point to the reaction of this patriotic employer. For while the attitude of all who came into contact with the blind -- teachers, social workers, psychologists, employers and the community in general -- was one of pity

and protection, it was hard indeed for the blind person not to share the common view of his low estate. Set off from the moment of affliction in a special caste, his vocational preparation was limited almost exclusively to the so-called "blind trades" -- i. e., mop-making, chair-caning, basket-weaving, and perhaps (for the superlatively gifted) piano-tuning. When this was all that blind people were allowed to learn, it was easy to believe that it was all they were capable of doing.

The monotonous routine of the blind trades is still commonly the fate of those who become blind. But in recent years there has appeared a discernible crack in the stereotype, and a widening rift in the gloom. Today there are blind lawyers by the scores across the country -- at least as many blind schoolteachers, and growing numbers of college professors like myself. I number among my own acquaintances a blind nuclear physicist, a blind chemist, a blind judge, a blind ex-congressman, and (perhaps most unexpected of all) a blind electrician. In fact, whenever I think that at last I have discovered a job or profession which the blind cannot perform, I soon discover some sightless man or woman making a flourishing career of it.

The wartime record of the blind in competitive industry, like that of the physically handicapped in general, was -- or should have been -- a revelation to employers. Not only were blind workers in the defense industries equally as efficient and productive as their sighted colleagues, they were considerably more stable and reliable in their employment. When, during a manpower shortage, the blind were given a fair chance at normal competitive jobs, together with adequate training and selective placement, they quickly surpassed the expectations of everyone -- including, no doubt, themselves. Unhappily, in this particular marketplace, truth was not quite strong enough to vanquish error in open combat. When the war ended, the exiled stereotype of the helpless blind man was speedily restored to its former prominence; those who were the last to be hired were the first to be fired. Society, as it seemed, had only been economically willing to take them on as extra hands; it was not yet psychologically prepared to take them in as equals.

Full membership in society is today withheld from America's blind population -- much as it is from her major minority groups -- through unreasoning and largely unacknowledged public attitudes, which interpret physical disability as total inability and tend to smother efforts at improvement beneath a blanket of shelter and protection. The integration of the blind and minority groups into society hangs largely upon their assimilation into the economy; for lacking

economic security men cannot develop their capacities or contribute to the community, and lacking economic opportunity their citizenship is in a real sense "second-class."

Fortunately, it is in the field of employment that prejudice and discrimination are most susceptible of reform -- and where the significant steps are presently being taken. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the nation's blind stand today on the threshold of a new era of full and equal participation in their society. But for this prospect to become a reality, a sweeping new approach is needed in all areas of welfare and employment. This new approach is admirably exemplified by the work of your own Iowa Commission for the Blind in its new orientation and training center, in its vending stand program, in its vocational rehabilitation program, and in the philosophy and atmosphere which pervades all of its activities. The "charity" approach, the "custodial" approach, the "sheltered" approach, even the "humanitarian" approach -- all must give way to a new spirit of equalitarianism which centers uncompromisingly around the root concept of the normality of those who are blind. It must be recognized that the overriding problem of blindness is one not of physical disability but of social handicap. Eliminate the handicap and the disability will take care of itself -- or, more precisely, the disabled will take care of themselves.

In the New Testament the words appear: "We walk by faith, not by sight." The lesson is plain. For the blind to walk the thoroughfares of society, to enter its mainstream in fraternity and freedom, requires a double faith: a faith in themselves and their own abilities, and a faith in society and its ability to remove the stumbling-blocks of prejudice from their path.

It is much the same with the former convict. The way of the transgressor is no less beset by stumbling-blocks which society alone has the power to remove. Here too the age-old approaches to crime and punishment need to be thoroughly swept away. The primitive approach of vengeance and retaliation; the punitive approach of deliberate cruelty and deprivation; the fearful approach of the criminal stereotype -- all must be given up in favor of the rehabilitative and democratic approach centering around the concept of equality and the presumption of normality. The motto of a just society was coined long ago: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us."

Finally, the massive stumbling-blocks in the path of the Negro must be clearly recognized, and the bulldozers set to work to root them out. The greatest block of all is the racial legacy of slavery itself, which first created the out-caste of color and

carried with it a separate cultural pattern and style of life to match the transiency and degradation of existence as a human chattel. The stereotypes of Negro character which are still brutally purveyed in film and folklore -- those of shiftiness and shiftlessness, of promiscuity and vice, of irresponsibility and ignorance -- all are related to the background of bondage and the subsequent reluctance of white society to create opportunities for adjustment and integration on democratic terms. No social scientist worth his salt speaks any longer of racial differences in I. Q. or aptitude, ability or ambition; when the stubborn specter of Jim Crow has at last been given decent burial, we may be confident that the myth of Negro inferiority and incompetence will perish with it. All the traditional approaches which lend aid and comfort to these legends -- the approach of "white supremacy," the approach of "separate but equal," the approach of Uncle Tom and Aunt Jemima (those models of servility imposed upon a race) -- all must be discarded in favor, once again, of the simple democratic precept of equality.

"There is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. . . ." Thus spoke St. Paul two millennia ago. And so it must be with us today in this broad land. There is neither Jew, nor Greek, nor African, nor blind man, nor former convict -- but only the free man and citizen in the society of equals to which we aspire.

A "NEW OUTLOOK" ON THE N.F.B. CONVENTION

The 1961 convention of the National Federation of the Blind, held last July in Kansas City, has at last achieved the status of official recognition by the American Foundation for the Blind. The convention is the subject of a detailed report in the November (1961) issue of THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND, under the by-line of Raymond Parsons.

Also noteworthy is the apparent desire of THE NEW OUTLOOK and its correspondent to maintain a posture of neutrality and detachment concerning the Federation's internal difficulties, which were a prominent feature of the four-day convention (see "NFB Convention Roundup," THE BLIND AMERICAN, July, 1961).

Unfortunately, that posture is not consistently maintained. Thus, for example, the climactic event of the convention -- the unanticipated resignation and dramatic farewell address of its founder and 20-year president, Dr. Jacobus tenBroek -- is routinely reported among a series of ordinary events of the first day's session. So "casual" is the account of this unprecedented action, in fact, that the identity of the retiring president is nowhere revealed to the reader -- surely a curious lapse of journalistic accuracy. The relevant paragraph of the article reads as follows:

"The president gave a very accurate account of the Federation's activities during the past year, enumerating both successes and failures. He labeled the internal strife and chaos as the instrumental elements that have created the deplorable state in which the National Federation now finds itself. He concluded his report by tendering his resignation from the presidency, an office which he had held for twenty years. His resignation appeared to be accepted with mixed emotions."

Just how adequate an account this is of the convention's major event may be surmised by comparing it with the statement of the NFB's new president, John Taylor, in his own report on the convention: "I cannot fully describe my own feelings as the new president of the organization which this man brought into being and has nurtured through a score of years. We have lost in Dr. tenBroek the greatest leader the organized blind have ever had or will have. His announcement struck dismay into the hearts of hundreds in the audience; at its conclusion there were few among us with eyes entirely dry."

Among less substantial inaccuracies embodied in the NEW OUTLOOK article are misspellings of the names of three NFB board members: Anita O'Shea (identified as O'Nita O'Shey); Franklin Van Vliet, and Harold Reagan.

An error of more serious proportions occurs in the coverage of John Nagle's convention report on the newly enacted amendments in social security. The article states: "He also told of the increased matching funds that are available to the states to be used in their aid-to-the-blind grants, but failed to state that it is only temporary." The error in this is twofold: first, Mr. Nagle did so state; and second, the legislated increase is "temporary" only technically, in the sense that (like most such enactments) it will need to be renewed by Congress.

"BEAUTY FOR THE SIGHTED AND THE BLIND"

Reviewed by Floyd W. Matson

Beauty for the Sighted and the Blind, by Allen H. Eaton.
New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959. 181 pp.

Allen H. Eaton, already the author of several volumes on American folk arts and handicrafts, has now written a unique and valuable book relating his special knowledge and artistic understanding to the perceptual experience of the blind. The heart of the work is the author's description of his own unusual collection of "objects of beauty," both natural and man-made, which he has assembled through the past generation from all over the world -- objects beautiful both to hold and behold, to see and to touch. The chief hope of his book is that the shared experience of beauty by those with sight and those without sight may encourage and deepen the avenues of communication between them.

There is also a more immediate purpose: "to encourage blind persons to explore objects -- especially through the sense of touch -- the oldest method of perception to the blind, and for ages the only one." More particularly, the sense of touch is shown to be "a new and most discriminating way of communication, [which] seeks especially to open doors to the enjoyment of beauty, thus bringing to all the aesthetic experience so prized in the highest, indeed in all human cultures."

The opening chapter of the book deals with the "Sense of Beauty for All: Age Long -- World Wide." A chapter on "Touch as a Way to Knowledge and a Way to Beauty" leads logically to the central chapter on "The Collection of Objects of Beauty for the Sighted and the Blind," setting forth the origin of the guiding idea, the uses made of the author's collection, and numerous anecdotes relating the experiences of blind persons with these tactile objects. Preceding that chapter is one on "Some Abilities and Achievements of Blind Persons," with brief sketches of the lives and careers of several remarkable individuals -- such as the obstetrician Dr. Albert Nast -- whose work is not generally known to the public. "A reason for including this chapter," writes Dr. Eaton, "is that extraordinary achievements of blind persons in many walks of life are overwhelming evidence of their normality, hence their capacity to enjoy beauty. But there is an even more basic fact to which this work would attest, namely that blind persons are just like other persons -- except that they do not see with their eyes."

A special chapter on "Beauty for Those who Neither See Nor Hear: the Deaf-Blind" is included in the text "because they are the blind of whom we know the least, yet their need for beauty and their capacity to feel its inspiration have been proved, even though some of their perceptions are beyond our understanding." The volume also contains a section on "Writing and Thinking Toward Beauty for the Blind," in which some of the literature on esthetic and similar educative endeavors is ably discussed. Other chapters deal with suggestions of how museums, libraries, schools and rehabilitation centers may better serve the blind through making full use of pertinent "objects of beauty."

It is noteworthy that Dr. Eaton's own professional life has been largely devoted to encouraging the appreciation of beauty and the arts among our people in all walks of life. He has been Field Secretary of the American Federation of Arts, and the organizer of its memorable Arts and Crafts of the Homelands Exhibitions, celebrating the contributions of immigrants to American culture; he designed the only national exhibition of rural arts which our country has seen; he is a past Director of the Department of Arts and Social Work of the Russell Sage Foundation, and an adviser to numerous national and regional organizations in the fields of handicrafts and folk art.

The underlying philosophy of this highly individual and imaginative book may perhaps be summarized in the

author's observation that, "contrary to the opinions held by many laymen and by some workers for the blind, the truth is that beauty is a heritage in which both the blind and the seeing may share; the blind not in all the experiences which are available to those with sight, but in very many of them, in enough, and many times more than enough, to last the longest lifetime."

BROTHERS . . . & OTHERS

Two Thousand Babies. A blind doctor in a small French town has delivered more than two thousand babies since losing his sight thirty years ago. Dr. Albert Andre Nast, of Chelles (near Paris), whose dramatic success story is recounted in Allen H. Eaton's Beauty for the Sighted and the Blind (reviewed elsewhere in this issue), was an established young lawyer when his wife died in childbirth in 1913. Resolving to devote the rest of his own life to helping mothers and their babies, he began at the age of thirty to study nights toward a medical career, served as an army surgeon during the first world war and eventually opened his own maternity clinic in his home town.

After ten years of practice, Dr. Nast lost the sight of both eyes. Instead of retreating or retiring he took stock of his remaining assets, recalled how much he had always depended upon the senses of touch and hearing in his medical work, and set about readjusting his techniques to compensate for lack of vision. He carried on his obstetrical practice with scarcely any slackening of pace, decline of ability or loss of clientele -- keeping the fourteen beds of his small but famous rural clinic as well-occupied as ever.

Over the years this remarkable Frenchman has also found time to write novels, plays and poems, to author medical and legal articles, and to become an accomplished musician both as a pianist and vocalist. It may truly be said of Dr. Albert Nast that, although he lost sight, he never lost touch with life -- or faith in it.

Arizona Federation of the Blind Convention. At its state convention October 22, according to information received from James B. Fall of Phoenix, the Arizona Federation of the Blind elected the following new officers: president, Mr. Fall; first vice-president, Eugene Motz, of Phoenix; second vice-president, Les Webb, Yuma; treasurer, Irene Houck, Phoenix; secretary, Mary Flynn, Prescott. President-elect Fall was chosen as the Federation's delegate to the 1962 convention of the National Federation of the Blind, with Art Kidd as alternate delegate. In other convention action, the Arizona group inaugurated a Henry Rush Memorial Scholarship Fund which will award \$100 each year toward the college education of a deserving blind student.

Art Education for the Blind. Encouraging new developments in the field of esthetic expression and creative experience for the blind have been summarized in two recent articles appearing in the publication SCHOOL ARTS (May, 1961). Cornelia R. Jones, an instructor at the Virginia State School for the Deaf and the Blind, describes the prominent role which art and creative development have played in the education of one group of blind and partially seeing students. A companion article by Howard Conant, "Experiencing Creativity After Blindness," also emphasizes that blindness need not be a bar to creative activity and in particular to artistic accomplishment. Both authors draw upon personal examples to demonstrate the contention that individuals without sight can become proficient artists in such fields as painting and drawing.

California Teacher Honored. A deaf-blind home teacher, Miss Jackie Coker, was the subject of a recent pictorial article, "Light in a Dark World," appearing in THE AMERICAN WEEKLY (August 20, 1961). Miss Coker, a Californian, was one of only three out of 25 applicants who successfully passed competitive Civil Service examinations for the position of home teacher of the adult blind.

Connecticut Welfare Costs Doubled. A hundred per cent rise in state welfare costs over the past decade has been revealed in a report issued recently by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council. The council, a privately financed governmental research agency, estimates total welfare costs for the 1962-63 fiscal year at a figure of \$61.2 million, more than double the \$28.5 million spent during fiscal 1952-53. Its report indicates that welfare spending in the state during the current fiscal year will reach an estimated \$58.4 million.

Father Carroll's Study Commended. Following is the final paragraph of a review of Father Thomas J. Carroll's Blindness: What It Is, What It Does, and How to Live With It, which appeared in the November, 1961, issue of THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE BLIND. Author of the review is Dr. Joseph S. Himes, professor of sociology at North Carolina College, Durham. (For another review of Father Carroll's book, see THE BLIND AMERICAN, October, 1961.)

"Whatever its faults, Blindness stands as an important work in the field and should be read by every professional and lay worker. Its comprehensive treatment of knowledge and action, its tough-minded realism, its wholesome philosophical perspective and its frank, sometimes blunt separation of good sense from nonsense recommend it to those who are seriously concerned with helping and living with the blind in our society. There are also many inadvertent dividends of insight into human nature and the organization of human social behavior. Above all, perhaps, the reader may be most rewarded by coming to know the vital, exciting human being who is Father Carroll."

The Gift of Inner Vision. A graphic account of the founding by George Wally of the World Research Center for the Blind, located in Caguas, Puerto Rico, appeared recently in THE READER'S DIGEST (August, 1961), under the title "He Gives the Blind the Gift of Inner Vision." Authored by Prentice Combs, the article tells how Wally, a professional artist, became interested in the creative talents of blind persons. Formerly a volunteer worker on the staff of the Braille Institute of America, Wally was stationed in Puerto Rico as a member of the Air Force during World War II.

Himself a violinist, he discovered that blind persons could learn to paint through techniques of muscular control similar to those utilized by violinists, the article states. Today he teaches sightless students how to "visualize" three-dimensional pictures through his system of muscular control. Believing that "the greatest sin is to possess a potential and fail to strive to realize it," Wally reportedly has dedicated his center "to serve the world's blind -- that the blind may one day serve the world."

Insurance Coverage for the Blind. Following are excerpts from a release issued by the American Management Agency, P.O. Box 366, Langhorne, Pennsylvania. Mr. Robert Scherr, head of the agency, will be remembered by National Federationists as a visitor to the NFB's 1961 convention, where he explained insurance opportunities made available through his organization. (Publication of this information does not, of course, constitute an endorsement of the agency or its offerings by this journal.)

"Through his business, the American Management Agency, specialist in insurance, [Scherr] has opened to the blind insurance protection programs which most companies withheld before because of extra hazards faced by blind persons. Using his 12 years' experience in the field, he worked with dozens of large insurance firms for over three years, . . . to offer blind persons today hospital-medical plans which are equivalent to, if not superior to, the plans enjoyed by most individuals in the United States today. . . . Blind people in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are members of these plans, and the plans are to be extended to every state. In addition, new plans will be offered in other lines of insurance, so that the blind can face the dread costs of sickness or accident with confidence. . . . Bob's firm, the A.M.A., has chosen the Union Trust Life Insurance Company to underwrite their new medical program for the blind members of the federations and associations in the United States."

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OBSTACLES TO ACTION FOR HUMAN WELFARE

By Dr. Charles Frankel

(Editor's note: Dr. Frankel is professor of philosophy at Columbia University, New York City, and the author of numerous books on political and social philosophy, including a notable defense of the liberal tradition, The Case for Modern Man. The present address was delivered before the National Conference on Social Welfare in Minneapolis last May.)

My assigned subject is "Obstacles to Action for Human Welfare," and I shall concentrate on the obstacles. It would be well to say at the very beginning, therefore, that we ought not to forget the background of progress against which these obstacles must be measured. The changes in the American scene over the last thirty years have altered our society, and for the most part altered it for the better, in fundamental ways. They have shown the resilience of our system, the educability of its members, and the resources of conscience and energy that lie ready to be tapped if those who are professionally or politically engaged in advancing the cause of human welfare have the wit and the will to lead the way. Indeed, our very success over the past generation may itself be one of the present obstacles in the way of doing the jobs that now need to be done. The pace of events has left us a little breathless and our progress a little tired. Our affluence seems to have stunned rather than stimulated us.

No more serious issue exists, none bites more deeply into the other issues that plague us, than that of generating a vision of a future America that might enlighten and ignite the comfortable. For while we have many troubles, they are not so visible as troubles in the past. Our schools are not nearly what they could or should be, but the children who suffer from this situation are not crying out in pain. We have unemployment, but the shock is cushioned, and the prosperity of the prosperous largely unaffected. Juvenile delinquency, it is easy to think, involves other people's children, poverty is hidden and closed off in ghettos. We have moved, in short, from a politics of grievances to a politics of possibilities. Our discontents are based, not on clear and definite wrongs crying out to be set right - the desegregation

issue is the one great exception - but on our sense of resources that are unused and potentialities ignored. The transition to such an atmosphere is difficult; it is like the transition from the problems of fighting sin to the problems of making the best of a state of grace. An effort of thought and imagination, and not just a lively conscience is necessary.

But what are the present obstacles to the promotion of human welfare? In one sense they are the perennial obstacles: greed; demagoguery; fear of the unknown; discomfort at change; the failure to take thought, the incapacity, or the self-protective refusal, to imagine another's condition. And to all these is added a fact that characterizes all societies. Those who have the best chance to lead are usually the most fortunate; and because they are, they are also likely to be most worried by proposals for change.

But there are also special obstacles peculiar to our own condition. First, there are obstacles created by our political and administrative institutions. These institutions are afflicted by apoplexy at the center and anaemia at the extremities. Second, our social and cultural attitudes have not caught up with what we are doing, and have not begun to prefigure what we might do. Our deeds, though behind our needs, are ahead of our thoughts. Third, the pressures of our present situation bear on us heavily. The cold war distracts and depresses us. We take our cues from the actions and threats of our opponents. And we have been overwhelmed by our powers, frightened rather than liberated by them. Let us look at each of these problems in turn.

First, our political and administrative institutions, and, more specifically, the institutions directly concerned with welfare programs: they bear the mark, I think, of the emergency in which they were born. Along with the words "freedom" and "democracy," the word "welfare" is one of the more abused words of our time. "Welfare," the dictionary tells us, is a state of being or faring well. But all that the so-called welfare state attempts to guarantee men is a life of minimal decency. Our "welfare state" is, in fact, the bandage we wear as the sign of past wounds. Its programs are in the main postscripts to the emergencies of depression and war. They reflect a view of human welfare, and of the conditions of its pursuit, which is as warped as the view of a convalescent about the energies of the human body.

Let me put the issue more precisely. Broadly speaking, we may distinguish between two kinds of social problems. One kind of problem emerges when the system does not work well, or when irreparable human difficulties intrude. In the best of societies there will be broken legs and broken hearts, illness, helpless children, dependent old people. And even in pretty good societies, there will be occasional failures. Public health measures may not prevent an outbreak of hepatitis, and economic progress will have occasional dips and falls. We may call such problems "residual" problems. And we normally (and, to a degree, mistakenly) think of crime, for example, as a residual problem.

On the other hand, there are also problems that emerge precisely because the system is working well and as we wish it to work. The child taking his first steps is a problem, but the problem has appeared because the child has grown as we desire. And similarly, in all societies there is a standing problem of education. And the fact that the problem exists, and that more of the resources of the society must be steadily devoted to it, is a sign of success, not failure - if only the kind of success reflected in a rising population.

The problem which existing welfare institutions pose is whether they are concerned exclusively with residual problems or with non-residual problems. In the main, it seems to me, our welfare programs are still conceived as residual problems. We think of them as efforts to deal with problems that arise despite our system and its success, and not because of that system and its success. But I venture to suggest that most (though not all) of our welfare problems are not in fact consequences of the health of our particular kind of society. And I think that we would have a rather different kind of welfare society if we looked at welfare problems systematically in this way. The failure to do so is one of the principal present obstacles to the advancement of human welfare.

What do I mean? Let us take just a few examples. A great many of the problems that face welfare programs in American cities - as I think all of you would recognize - are problems that arise as the result of the migration of rural people to the city. For a hundred and fifty years now, inhabitants of the countryside have been moving to cities of industrial Europe and then America. Successive waves of immigrants, almost all of them with rural backgrounds, have made the history of our cities. Now it's the Latin American and the Negro; a generation ago it was

the Italian. Only the Jew, on the whole, has brought an urban background with him. And most of the problems of urban welfare programs arise in that context.

Now this is not a fault in our system. It is the sign - the symptom and the consequence - of the industrial growth of our system and of its creation of increasing opportunities. It is a problem, in other words, like the problem of education, not like the problem of crime. Yet we deal with the problem as though it were like the problem of crime. For instance, the army assumes that when you take a man from civilian status and put him into the military he needs a period of orientation. The army deals with this problem in an organized and deliberate way. It doesn't wait until the individual falters and then sends him to the guardhouse or the hospital. Of course, some people will falter and have to be sent to the guardhouse or hospital in any case. But the army makes some deliberate efforts to cushion the shock of transition. Dealing with a problem of transition, at least as abrupt, we do relatively little in an organized way. We take a therapeutic and remedial, rather than preventive, approach to the problem.

Another great issue of which we are only beginning to be aware is the issue of technological unemployment. A major justification for a system of decentralized capitalist competition, so far as I can see, is that it energizes the spirit of invention and innovation. That system seems to be working very well. And as a result, not only do we have technological unemployment but we can count on it as a normal condition of life. It is the price we pay for our success, the inevitable defect that goes with our virtue. What do we do about this chronic problem? Once more, we can treat it as an accident, as something that shouldn't happen, or we can establish institutions for the retraining and relocation of displaced individuals which have the same status in our society as schools. Our administrative and political institutions are in this respect, I think, quite inadequate for dealing with the problems with which we are confronted. They bear the signs of the emergency in which they were born. They need to be converted deliberately and as a matter of principle, into standing agencies for preventing the problems which they now go about managing in an ad hoc and retrospective manner.

There is one more issue here of considerable importance. You may find it difficult to believe, I find it difficult to believe myself, but there are moments

every day when I think there is something to be said for Senator Barry Goldwater. Senator Goldwater is worried about the increasing centralization of our society. And I am worried about it too, so worried about it that I wish that Senator Goldwater would sing a different tune. For I think that he is an agent of the forces that are creating this over-centralization. What do I mean? Like a good many old-fashioned Jeffersonians, I think it a liberal and liberating purpose to want to relieve individuals from a meddlesome state, from the petty tyrannies of officials, from the constant intervention of government into local and private affairs. The number of such interventions is growing steadily. But why?

Let me give you two analogies which I hope will help me to make my point. Let's imagine a man who refuses to go on the regular regimen of physical exercise and decent diet that his doctor prescribes for him. He doesn't follow any planned program for maintaining his health. And as a result the doctor comes to his house every week, he intervenes in the man's life in a hundred detailed ways, the fellow feels that he's got no freedom at all, and the medical bills are very high. Or take another example. When I try to walk across New York City these days, I run into a series of blocks and obstacles to my progress towards my welfare. I run into people. I barely avoid running into cars. I see policemen everywhere, and they order me around, and often in a discourteous way. But unless New York were to make some deliberate decision about the rights of the automobile driver, this problem is going to continue and to get worse. Without some deliberate planned decision at the center, for example, one governing access of the automobile to the center of New York, the inroads on my daily freedom of movement are going to grow.

This is the kind of issue I have in mind when I say that our political and administrative organizations concerned with welfare ought to be converted from remedial institutions into institutions dealing with problems conceived as normal and natural problems of our society. I say it once in the interest of planning and centralization and in the interest of decentralization. The pressures towards centralization in our society are very great. Without deliberate planning at the center, they are going to become greater. Policies focussed on and by emergencies, ad hoc measures for dealing with one separate problem after another, only multiply restrictions, regulations, and inhibitions on human energy. The purpose is to simplify,

to rationalize, to provide a stable set of alternatives within which individuals are freer to act in security and to exercise their freedom of choice. Only a positive approach to programs of human welfare will promote, I think, the liberty of our society as well as the welfare of our society.

This is particularly important in connection with an agency which has always been thought to be fundamental in democracy - the voluntary organization. We are suffering, I said a while ago, from apoplexy at the center and anaemia at the extremities. The anaemia is in our voluntary organizations, which are increasingly centralized and bureaucracized. In a period of crisis, or with the aid of ideology and rhetoric, you can whip people up to a great effort. But you can do so, usually, only for a short time. If people are to work for long-range social purposes with energy and devotion, I think they have to feel, as a normal matter, that right at home, close to them, there are things they can do that are significant. If they speak, they will be heard. If they move, somebody else will move. The reactivation and revitalization of voluntary organizations at the local levels is a problem of major importance in the pursuit of human welfare. The problem cannot be left just to professionals. Most of you, though not all, are professionals. A major part of your job, in the years to come, I would diffidently suggest, is not just to put your professional knowledge and competence at the disposal of those who need help. It is to organize and lead communities, and to show them that the problem of human welfare is their problem - no, not simply their problem, but also their chance to give a meaning to the word community.

But let me turn to our social and cultural attitudes. I said a while ago that the word welfare is one of the woefully abused words of our times. It is woefully abused for reasons that I have already indicated, but for other reasons, too. As the welfare state has emerged, it has undercut and come close to subverting certain traditional moral values of our society. The conflict between these old moral values and the emerging and still unexpressed moral values of the new welfare society is still unresolved. And so, in our attitudes, we are as yet largely uncommitted, undecided, as to what it is that we have done and as to what it is that we want to do.

How does the new concept of welfare conflict with old values? Although the concept of welfare as we have come to use it in fact only designates the minimally decent life, there are still two elements in it which are relatively new.

First, it reflects the growing recognition that even a life of minimal decency cannot be defined in purely material terms. Minimal decency is a concept that is relative in two respects. It is relative to social resources and social expectations, and it is relative to personality. A life of minimal decency for an American in 1961 is not a life of minimal decency for an American in 1861. The standard of living which we set as the floor below which no one shall go is a rising standard of living. For what men regard as minimal has something to do with what they regard as possible. Secondly, there is a psychological component in the concept of welfare.

Merely to allow a man or a family to keep body and soul together is not all that is meant by minimal decency. They have to be allowed to keep body and soul together under conditions that also permit them to keep their self-respect. This understanding of the imperatives of a social assistance program is a new understanding. Throughout most of history, it has not been usual for men to help their fellows under such conditions that their fellows can keep their self-respect. You all know, or should know, the Biblical maxim that it is more blessed to give than to receive. The maxim could not be truer; it is more blessed to give than to receive - it is much more agreeable to the ego. What we have been trying to do for the last thirty years is to make receiving a little less painful to the human ego. And it will always be painful. In Dostoevski's *Brothers Karamazov*, old man Karamazov is asked why he has a deadly hate for someone. He replies, "He once did me a favor!"

There is also a second point of great importance in which our approach to human welfare has changed. A life of minimal decency is regarded, in a welfare society, as a right. Over the long course of western history, charity has been considered a supreme virtue. And one reason that charity has been regarded as a supreme virtue is that it is a wholly free act, an act of benefaction towards others who have no natural right to be so benefited. It is a free gift of the donor. In this respect, charity has been subverted by the new welfare policies. The right to receive certain minimal benefits of the society in which one lives is now generally recognized as a right of all. It is part of what we mean when we speak of fundamental human rights. And this clashes with very old attitudes - with the attitude that benefits should always be a return for service, with the notion that if men don't have the lash of utter poverty behind them, they won't work hard, with all the moralities and immoralities that lead us to

divide the poor, but no one else, into two classes - the deserving and the undeserving.

We haven't yet assimilated all that this dislocating of old attitudes means. And our irresolution shows itself in fears - for example, the fear that a guarantee of minimal security eats away at initiative and self-reliance. It is, of course, true that if you guarantee all men certain minimal securities, some men will take such a guarantee as an invitation to take things easy. There isn't the slightest doubt that security does unnerve some people and encourage them to think that the world owes them a living. My evidence of this assertion is the behavior of many rich people. But on the whole, in a society in which there are great opportunities - in which there is money to be made, work to be done, and success is valued above all things - in such a society, it seems to me it is foolish to worry about the enervating effects of the guarantee of minimal security. These effects are scattered, and are almost certainly balanced by the stimulations that minimal security offers.

In addition to the still unresolved notions about welfare we inherit from the past, we have some new problems towards which we have not yet managed to formulate any settled attitudes at all. They are examples of precisely the kind of normal chronic problem to which, as I have been suggesting, welfare programs ought to be addressed. To understand these problems, it is helpful to think about what it means to move away from the Garden of Eden morality. Paradise for men, throughout history, has been conceived as a kind of easy-going existence where you don't have to work, where you don't feel pain, where there are no angers or jealousies, where a man is tame, placid, and obedient. That's because we always create our paradises out of our knowledge of hell. We look at hell, which is close at hand and requires few powers of imagination, and we eliminate what is evil: that gives us paradise.

But we are now living in a society in which most old notions of paradise will not do. Consider early retirement or leisure, or extension of life expectancy or stretching out of youth. To start with the last case, it is a special phenomenon of our mature industrial society that young people spend longer and longer periods receiving an education, remain for a longer time in a socially dependent and apprentice status. And yet human biology, of course, hasn't changed. At a certain point in their teens, young people are biologically mature - with all the problems that that creates. It is a fantasy to imagine that

adolescence is a biological phenomenon. It is a social phenomenon. It's a phenomenon of young people who are physically mature but are kept in socially immature positions. And since this problem is built into the kind of society we have, it requires the examination of the institutions, from schools to labor laws, that bear upon it. Old categories, not even the categories of thirty years ago, will not do.

Similarly, the notion of a happy old age spent in retirement loses its meaning when biological old age more normally begins at 75 or 80 but official retirement begins at 65 or 60. The Eskimos have been condemned for exposing their old people on the hills and letting them die. We're more humane; we expose them in sunshine colonies and let them die. We have still to find ways in which those who are retired can act as useful contributors to their community. We have still to find other than purely stop-gap measures for dealing with the problem of old age in a society in which, for the first time in human history, something like a third of the population is directly affected.

But now let me turn finally to the pressures of our present situation. Obviously, the greatest reason for wanting to liquidate the cold war is that if we don't we may all go up in smoke. But a second reason is the awful, shameful diversion of human wealth and energy that the cold war represents. The economic waste, the distraction, tension and very probably the domestic violence that comes from the cold war is immeasurable. In the United States, furthermore, the cold war has had another consequence. It has created an attitude which seems to me, when judged against the American past, almost to merit the label Un-American. That attitude is our fascinated and preoccupied concern with our enemy.

That enemy is making a painful transition from a shamefully impoverished society to, at best, a poor man's paradise. We have long since passed that stage of economic development. That the enemy is real and that he is a threat, I don't for a moment wish to deny. But the United States has not normally decided its own domestic policies in the past by reading from the enemy's script. It has not created its policy just out of fear and antagonism. We are preoccupied with Anti-Communism, as though we had no independent notions of our own about what freedom and democracy in America might mean. Until the Russians do something, we seem not to know what we ought to do. What we seem to have lost is a sense of the future - an image

of the future. We try very hard - we're immensely flexible, we're extraordinarily gifted in technical pursuits, we tinker better than any other society. But we don't quite know what it is we want - and we don't quite know what it is we want, I suspect, because we still have our minds fixed on that last emergency through which we came.

Those who are concerned with social welfare in particular need to address themselves to a serious study of our social and political organization, and to a serious, deliberate, and controversial concern with social policy. The social worker, unhappily, has become one of the best examples of the decline of our society's capacity to imagine its future. He's doing his job efficiently and he is also encasing himself in his job. He's tinkering with the broken products that are brought to the repair shop, but he isn't asking himself why so many of these broken products are being brought in. Even with regard to the cold war, the construction of a positive image of a society concerned with human welfare for its own sake - even in the cold war, this would be an extraordinary instrument.

Ten years ago George Kennan wrote in Foreign Affairs, "Any message we may try to bring to others will be effective only if it is in accord with what we are to ourselves, and if this is something sufficiently impressive to compel the respect and confidence of a world which, despite all its material difficulties, is still more ready to recognize and respect spiritual distinction than material opulence." This search for and recovery of spiritual distinction seems to me to be our problem.

How can we begin? I would say, first of all; that we ought to begin by stating some disagreeable facts about ourselves. Nothing would help more than if we cut through the rhetoric, looked at our unfinished business squarely, and tried to state the ideals that define our new business. Our schools are shockingly inadequate. Our programs for the young and the old are sketchy, grudging, undernourished. Our actions and thoughts about unemployment, delinquency, recreation, public facilities, or the ugliness of our cities - all of these are ad hoc and fearful. In New York, the city where I work, the capital of an extraordinarily rich continent, the contrast between wealth and poverty is shocking and hideous. The bewilderment, the scorn, and the violence that lie a millimeter below the surface in Harlem can be sensed by anybody who walks through Harlem - unless, of course, his senses have been completely destroyed by time, life and fortune - and you may capitalize these words. And the question to be asked is not the

irrelevant and tiresome question, "Can any other social system do better?" The question is whether this represents the best that the American system can do.

The man who is prepared to say "Yes," the man who thinks these facts should not be mentioned or that mentioning them shows a lack of respect for the American system - that man is the man who shows lack of respect for the American system and its potential. It is he who is killing the faith of Americans in what they have, for faith is built on works. And he is contributing to the image of the United States abroad - he is that image - which has made millions associate us with the past rather than with the future. In our past, the United States was a contagion. It was a contagion because, almost alone in the world, it was a society that wanted its future, that knew its possibilities and loved them and seized them. And it is still true that no other society has a better chance to demonstrate what the possibilities for human well-being might be.

Last winter, even in England, a poorer society, there was a cartoon at Christmas time in one of the English journals. It showed Jesus in the manger with a television set and a refrigerator and some very large fuzzy little animals with which to play. I was struck by this cartoon appearing in a welfare society. Thirty years ago, social critics attacked poverty. Now social critics, including some of our most liberal social critics, attack affluence. Why? It's sentimental to declaim against affluence. I hope you will forgive me - I hope it doesn't sound too vulgar, but along with a rapidly declining group of other materialists, I think that material wealth and material goods generally are good, not bad, for a civilization and for the spiritual life. The American bathroom is a contribution to civilization. Why, then, are we so apologetic about our wealth, and worried about our alleged materialism?

The answer is so obvious we hesitate to put it into words. It is because we haven't yet put this extraordinary opulence to work that we can respect. In any society, and particularly in a rich one, men need a sense that there are large, ideal enterprises under way. They need a sense that they can take part in those enterprises, that their work adds up to something - that if they use their minds and their hearts, they can do something supremely worth doing. The theme for this Conference is "Concern for Human Welfare: Unifying Force for Survival." I hope you will forgive me if I extend that theme. Survival is something,

but not enough: what counts is survival in freedom and survival for the good life. Concern for human welfare could be a unifying force, producing excitement and a sense of purpose and meaning in our society - if only we could get our eyes on the target. The question is whether we in the United States today have the energy, courage and imagination to live up to our extraordinary powers. Those of you who have come to this Conference can do as much to generate this renewal of mind and heart as any group in the country.

"THE GROVE PARK REPORT": AN ANALYSIS

An important study in the field of vocational rehabilitation -- dealing specifically with the attempt to define uniform standards and principles covering "non-medical vocational and rehabilitation preparation services for blind persons" -- was published in October by the American Foundation for the Blind.

Bearing the title "The Grove Park Report," the publication is the outcome of a work conference held last July under the auspices of the AFB. Participating were some 20 representatives of agencies for the blind, public and private, from various parts of the country. No representatives from organizations of the blind, however, were among the participants.

Organized initially on the premise that the diversity of rehabilitation services for the blind from state to state betrays a lack of common agreement on minimum principles and standards, the Grove Park conference found this assumption strongly confirmed by the findings of a preliminary survey of state training facilities and services. As analyzed by Maurice I. Tynan for the conferees, the survey data revealed "that few of the states have developed special criteria for the selection of training facilities and principles and standards relative to the provision or purchase of training services which take into consideration the many needs and problems inherent in the disability of blindness."

On the basis of the scanty and differing information turned up by the survey, it was inferred that few recognized standards prevail among the states in the general

areas of prevocational and vocational training. The survey analyst concluded: "The Vocational Rehabilitation Act contemplated that each individual accepted for training would receive special services tailored to meet his needs to enable him to be employed in an occupation commensurate with his talents, skills and abilities. Although much progress has been made in the vocational rehabilitation of blind persons since the Act was amended in 1943, there remains much to be done if objectives are to be fully realized."

Unfortunately, it would appear from the "Grove Park Report" that still more remains to be done than was contemplated by the work conference itself if the major objectives of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act are to be realized. Both the "assumptions" of the conferees and the "principles" which they have developed reflect the tendency of many professional workers and administrators to minimize the vocational goals of the rehabilitation process in favor of concentration upon such nonvocational services as psychological adjustment and personal orientation.

While there is no lack of references to the employment objectives of the program, the emphasis of the AFB Report (and presumably the main interest of the participants) appears to lie elsewhere. For example, the key term "training" as used in rehabilitation terminology, with its obvious vocational connotation, is regarded by the conferees as somewhat outdated and dispensable in light of the increasing nonvocational developments in the program governed by the federal Act. Thus, in a revealing (not to say ominous) passage, the Report notes that since 1943 "new concepts of rehabilitation have been developed and federally supported services have been expanded to include such items as physical restoration services; more comprehensive evaluative and diagnostic services, etc. In addition, the conference participants had been more or less conditioned to the future possibility of the independent living bill and all it might connote with respect to rehabilitation terminology unqualified by the word 'vocational.'"

As a result of this explicit anti-vocational bias, the agency conferees proposed, among other things, that: "Inasmuch as the three committees seem to agree that the terminology 'personal adjustment training,' 'prevocational training,' and 'vocational training' presents real confusion in the separation of function, and inasmuch as this terminology is still in use by the federal government, and inasmuch as substantive change in terminology is a very serious undertaking, Committee I recommends to the American

Foundation for the Blind that this matter be explored much more intensively to the end that more meaningful terminology be developed for general consideration and possible adoption."

The import of this interesting terminological discussion is not far to seek. The central emphasis of federal-state vocational rehabilitation programs, ever since their original enactment in 1920, has been upon the restoration of the productive powers of the disabled in order to assist them to find remunerative employment in the normal commerce and industry of their communities. The basic and crucial provisions of the programs have accordingly been those of vocational training and job placement. Other services and facilities -- medical, therapeutic, psychological, and so on -- have always been regarded, under this "old" terminology, as adjuncts or preliminaries to the overriding purpose of getting the clients back to work. But in recent years, as the above quotations suggest, other and different interests have grown up bearing little or no relation to the vocational goal. These new professional interests, clearly illustrated in the "independent living" bill, have so captured the attention of social workers that they threaten to displace the services of occupational training and preparation for employment and to convert the 40-year-old program of vocational rehabilitation into one primarily of non-vocational orientation.

The "Grove Park Report" of the AFB does not, of course, go so far as to ignore the vocational objectives of the public program; nor is there reason to suppose that the distinguished group of agency executives participating in the conference seeks to move in that negative direction. On the contrary, the group's Report deals positively and at some length with the problem of establishing "principles" to govern the vocational training of blind persons, and stipulates both that services should be geared to individual needs and that competitive employment objectives should be encouraged.

Nevertheless, in view of these professed principles, it is discouraging to note the Report's recommendation that "if specific vocational training cannot be secured elsewhere in a community, it may be provided by qualified staff in a workshop facility." Whatever may be the place of sheltered workshops outside the vocational rehabilitation program (e.g., in the provision of therapeutic or constructive work and leisure activities for those without normal employment potential), there can be little question of the prima facie incompatibility of such sheltered shops with

the fundamental purposes of vocational rehabilitation. Where adequate training facilities do not exist locally, their absence can hardly be used as an excuse for shunting disabled clients into institutions geared to other and conflicting purposes.

In addition to its broad discussion of principles and standards underlying vocational rehabilitation, the Grove Park Report deals briefly with the special requirements of training with respect to vending stands, the operation of transcribing machines, and "homemaking." It may be noted in passing that the Report's brief statement of "principles for vending stand operators" makes no mention of opportunities under the revised Randolph-Sheppard Act for operators to purchase their enterprises and thus become independent owners rather than permanent employees of the state agency. As in other places, the Report here suffers from the absence of the client's viewpoint (i.e., the blind person receiving services) as distinguished from the viewpoint of the professional agency dispensing the services. For all its thoughtful appraisal and informative detail, therefore, the AFB's Grove Park Report must be said to fall short of a balanced and judicious assessment of the unmet needs of the blind in the broad field of vocational rehabilitation.

THE ATTACK ON THE ANC WELFARE PROGRAM

By Percy H. Steele, Jr.

(Editor's note: Mr. Steele is Executive Director of the San Diego Urban League and a member of the California State Board of Social Welfare. His address -- reprinted in slightly abridged form for reasons of space -- was delivered in October before the semi-annual convention of the California Council of the Blind in San Diego.)

From coast to coast the ANC Program has been sharply criticized, and its recipients have been slandered and insulted, in a crescendo of shrill vituperation perhaps unequalled in the modern history of social services. It is not my task in this presentation today to attempt to explain this sad phenomenon, but I wish to clearly characterize it. The bulk of the attacks on this Public

Welfare Program represent shallow, incomplete or misguided thinking - or, at worst, consummate distortion of the facts. The weaknesses and limitations of the Aid to Needy Children Program are to any fair-minded observer few and relatively minor. The accomplishments of the Program, on the other hand, especially when considered in the light of the obstacles built into its administration, are manifold and heartening.

These accomplishments in the face of the level of the attacks are a tribute to the administrators, the workers, and even the recipients. The accomplishments also reflect credit on legislators and other public officials, including county Boards of Supervisors, who despite personal doubts and misgivings have, by and large, supported the Program and have usually prevented restrictions in the Program and have held down punitive reprisals against recipients.

When Governor Brown delivered his annual message to the joint session of the California Legislature on January 2 of this year, he asked the Legislature to "take a hard, yet sympathetic look at the Aid to Needy Children Program." The object of this Program, he went on to say, should be the saving of children first and the saving of money second. Critics of Aid to Needy Children Program in California, and in other states as well, have not always taken this balanced view, but instead have hammered away at the rising costs of this Program and at the heavy proportion of illegitimate children in the total ANC case load. The cost of the Program has brought forth the criticism of widespread fraud on the part of the recipients and has also, in California, been directed toward the higher proportion of county participation in this Program, as compared with its share of the other categorical assistance programs. The heavy ratio of illegitimate children has been used by the critics to imply or to flatly assert that ANC tended to encourage immorality and illegitimacy and that many ANC homes were unsuitable for the children being aided with public funds.

Counties, therefore, have been greatly concerned about the Program and in a variety of ways have sought to achieve "tightening" of their administration of it to meet the views of the critics and the obvious problems of the families and children served by ANC. The Newburgh Plan is a good example of this kind of "tightening up." At the State level, similar concerns, although with different emphases, led to the inauguration of intensive study through a special task force of the Department of Social Welfare; and this study was submitted to the Governor on August 1, 1960, after being reviewed by the State Social Welfare

Board. During 1960, Legislative studies were also carried out on ANC by the Sub-committee on Welfare Costs of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee and by the Assembly Committee on Social Welfare and by the Senate Interim Committee on Social Welfare. The findings and recommendations of these four studies are pertinent to any interested group or official and can be obtained through the Department of Social Welfare. The ADC crisis in New Orleans is another outstanding example of the problems in this over-all field. Even the casual observer will note that more and more we are finding written material and publications on this very controversial Program. For instance, the American Public Welfare Association came out with a pamphlet, ADC - Problem and Promise. The Family Service Association of America devoted one of its issues to the whole problem: The Campaign Against Helpless Children. The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare came out with a booklet, Illegitimacy and Its Impact on the Aid to Dependent Children Program, only to name a few of these.

The Aid to Needy Children Program has become one of the most controversial and misunderstood programs in the United States. Despite our increasingly wealthy economy the Program has had to provide for greater numbers of families requiring greater public expenditures than ever before. The ANC families are considerably different than in the early years of the Program. Their problems are more complex, accusing and hostile. The ANC Program was initially adopted by the Congress of the United States in 1935 as part of a comprehensive plan of Social Security "to promote the general welfare," as referred to in the Preamble to the Constitution. It is an essential part of a broad social plan of public services, including education, health, welfare and social insurances that the nation is progressively developing to assure its children an opportunity to: (1) Grow up in a setting of their own family relationships; (2) Have the economic support and services they need for health and development; (3) Receive an education that will help them to realize their capacities; and (4) Share in the life of the neighborhood and community.

The ANC problem has grown in size and complexity over the past 25 years. Throughout the nation some 3 million individuals are receiving Aid to Needy Children, of which 2.3 million are children. The problem has grown for many reasons. There has been an unprecedented increase in the general population with an even higher increase in the proportion of children.

Economic and industrial progress has created a national labor market and encouraged great population mobility and the disruption of normal family ties and normal family living. There is more recklessness in the general population and the incidents of desertion, divorce, separation and unmarried parenthood have risen almost year by year along with mental illness, juvenile delinquency and crime. Within some sectors of the population, economic insecurity, unemployment or underemployment have been intensified by automation, fluctuations in the economy, discrimination in employment, insufficient education, absence of marketable job skills, impaired health and mental and physical incapacities. These factors contribute heavily to the ANC load. The ANC problem is growing in quantity and complexity in practically every major center of population in the United States.

Let's take a look at some of the facts and statistics as far as California is concerned. The increase in the California ANC case load has been smaller than in seven comparable eastern states. For instance, the child population increased 20 per cent and the ANC increase was only 38 per cent during the same period. As a follow up to this, one might ask: Why the increase in the ANC case load? Availability of employment is the most important single factor affecting case load size. The proportion of Mexican and Negro recipients has markedly increased. These two groups most seriously affected by an increase in unemployment because of lack of skills and education and as a result of discrimination, account for nearly three-fifths of the case load today as compared to two-fifths in 1950. For such groups, ANC tends to take on the attributes of an unemployment relief program.

Insecurity and instability lie at the root of the growing rate of illegitimacy. Possible recommendations in this area are: increased social services in the field of family counseling; increased mental health facilities, especially in the schools to aid in spotting maladjusted teenagers; and more funds for services helping unwed mothers, so that more case workers could be provided.

As a social worker, and as a citizen charged with a responsibility for the current ANC Program as a member of the State Social Welfare Board, let me acknowledge without debate that it is an imperfect social mechanism for meeting some of the needs of the deprived group of parents and children; but whatever the limitations and weaknesses in the ANC Program - due, in my judgment, to its character and not to its administration - ANC simply

mirrors the problems of its beneficiaries; and the roots of these problems in turn twist deeply into the underlying problems of social change and family disorganization in our communities. This perspective is the sobering one we must face when we look at some of the criticisms which have been leveled against ANC:

1. I submit to you, any fraudulent obtaining of assistance is morally wrong, should be reduced, and must be punished by appropriate sanctions. Studies of fraud in ANC, as I pointed out above, the critics to the contrary notwithstanding, show it to be very small and similar in its incidents to the volume of stealing from supermarkets, department stores, banks and substantially less than the fraud that exists in filing of Income Tax Returns. It follows that most so-called crackdowns on ANC fraud are ways to build newspaper circulation, or to enhance the reputation of certain public officials seeking special acclaim for merely doing their duty.

2. I also submit to you that illegitimacy, which is certainly heavy in the ANC load, roughly one-third, is a serious problem in the ANC Program and, more importantly, outside of the Program; but the charge, however, that ANC stimulates illegitimacy is really preposterous to any person who really gives thought and study to the problem. We need to devote major research and planning effort to the rising amount of illegitimacy in our society. But to relate the problem positively to ANC and to think of tightening policies in the Program against illegitimate children, as some critics propose, simply does not make good sense.

3. Similarly the argument that ANC encourages or rewards immorality is patently a defective argument. Immorality is not of minor consequence in our social life. Unconventional behavior of some ANC parents is certainly cause for deep concern, because of its adverse effects on these parents; and more significantly because of the adverse effects on the well-being of children. But similar behavior in non-ANC families should and must be of similar concern to the community. We must be wary of over-emphasizing, if not distorting, the amount of immorality of ANC recipients and of anything which tends to set up a different or more severe moral standard for those who need subsistence help from tax funds, than those who do not need or receive such help.

The problems are real, but some of the critics are unreasonable; and therefore we must be cautious about taking their advice, such as was offered in the Newburgh Plan.

To deal with the problems, we will manage best if we avoid hysteria, exaggeration and inflammatory approaches.

To what extent public criticism has its roots in public embarrassment because of a deprived group within our abundant society cannot be ascertained. However, there is evidence that much of the criticism has grown out of racial tensions, a feeling that ANC families should behave in a manner not expected of others, and lack of understanding of the ANC recipients and of the problems which they face and which created their dependency. Neither have the critics been aware of the costs of alternate solutions to the problem of caring for children in their own homes when they are deprived of a parent and in need. Even if it were believed to be beneficial to remove these children from the care of their own parent or relatives, the cost of maintaining them in foster homes or institutions would be prohibitive. Nor is there any evidence that removal of children in need from their own homes would decrease the number of illegitimate births.

The ANC Program has helped to preserve family unity. It has made it possible for countless numbers of children to grow into reasonably normal adulthood. After more than 25 years of operation weaknesses are evident; some which the Congress of the United States tried to remedy with amendments. Others are still to be dealt with, especially the effect of the ANC Program in subordinating the role of fathers and in keeping parents apart. This was done, but California did not take advantage of it.

In conclusion let me say this. I do not pretend to have offered any startling or particularly new insights to you on the problems of illegitimacy and the total ANC Program. This evil has existed since marriage became a social institution, since it is the production of children out of wedlock that results in what we term illegitimacy, and even that is a term or dated situation because, if the involved male and/or female marry, the child or children lose the illegitimate status and acquire respectability. It might be well to recognize that the real problem involved here is not the number or ratio of children born out of wedlock, but the extent to which people indulge or engage in adulterous sexual intercourse. Out of the core problem of such illicit sex contacts, except when conception does not take place, come the evils of abortions and illegitimate births. Let's also admit that, to a real degree, the hue and cry over and seriousness of the fact of illegitimacy is related to the spiraling costs of public assistance as reflected in the Aid to Needy Children

Program especially. In fact, it was that narrow interest which led to the creation of the welfare Study Commission.

On that basis, let me remind you again that illegitimacy occurs on all social, economic, cultural and educational levels, without regard to race, creed or color, and also that reliable figures place on Welfare rolls about 10 per cent of the approximately 200,000 illegitimate births each year. Perhaps we first can agree that there is no hope of preventing illegitimacy and that effort must be profitably directed to a reduction in its incidents. This calls for a willingness by society to effect severe changes in its social practices, and it is to the presentation of a few such alterations that I conclude my remarks this afternoon. I recommend that:

1. Discrimination, segregation and denial of equality of opportunity based on race, creed or color be abolished. There is little question but that rejection, aggression and deprivation figure importantly in illegitimacy.

2. Decent, safe and sanitary housing must be provided on a greatly enlarged scale for all levels of society below the so-called middle-class grouping.

3. Family living, family planning and sex education must be made much more accessible and available through the home, the church, the school, the social agencies and organizations, etc. Programs such as "Strengthening the Family Project," which have been carried out in a number of cities, must be increased and expanded.

4. Much larger appropriations must be made by both Government and the public for the public and private social agencies that are presently contending with or can be converted to contend with the problem. It is not enough to do a little about helping people with their problems. The real answer lies in helping them out of their problems. Effective prevention and rehabilitation of social agency cases in the real or potential grasp of illegitimacy will be possible to the extent that society learns to care more about people than dollars.

5. Services for unwed minority group mothers must be provided on a much larger scale than exists at present. We need to be more aggressive and do more in the way of carrying the service to these people. This suggestion also implies an enlargement of existing services for majority group unwed mothers. Clearly this suggestion, as well as the preceding one, includes a decided expansion in adoption and foster care programs. A change in the economic situation will, no doubt, have a decided effect on this problem.

6. As in the case of the Tango, it takes two people to produce an illegitimate child in the absence of resort to artificial insemination. It therefore follows that corrective efforts must be directed toward the male of the species in the areas of prevention, rehabilitation and apprehension. I must leave the development of appropriate apprehension programs to others who are much more legally competent than I. My only thought is that in cases where the male partner is legally identified, he must be made to share a larger portion of responsibility for the welfare of the children than now falls upon him.

7. One injunction I hasten to insert here is that resort must not be had to compulsory sterilization as an approach to a solution of the problem. Nor should public assistance be withheld. Both measures are repulsive to me and give rise to problems greater than the one they would be intended to solve.

8. A second injunction is that remediable results cannot be expected to materialize immediately, rather they must be projected over a reasonable period of time and in proportion to the money and community efforts put into the project.

Let it not be assumed that I speak today as one who defends those who, as a result of thoughtless and selfish indulgence in sexual pleasures, and without regard to their responsibilities, cause or add to the severity of our social problems. I like to hope that there is no question whatever as to the position of the San Diego Urban League or its Executive Director or myself as a member of the State Board of Social Welfare or as Chairman of the San Diego Board of Public Welfare, on the need for assumption of responsibility by all members of our society; rather I ask only that, as we do with a dirty face, we wash it instead of cutting it off.

ROUNDUP OF STATE CONVENTIONS

(Editor's note: THE BLIND AMERICAN wishes to keep its readers accurately informed of conventions held by state and national organizations of the blind as well as by significant agencies and groups in the welfare field. In order to make our coverage as complete and comprehensive as possible, interested organizations are requested to send full information on their conventions to the editor, THE BLIND AMERICAN, 2652 Shasta Road, Berkeley 8, California.)

James McGinnis to Lead California Council. The fall convention of the California Council of the Blind, held October 21-22 in San Diego, was highlighted by the appearance of several distinguished guest speakers and the presentation of informative panel discussions -- but found its real climax in the unexpected resignation of Council President Russell Kletzing. The outgoing leader, who has headed the Council for the past three years, regretfully announced his resignation at the close of his presidential report for reasons of a "pressing personal nature," and expressed gratitude to the membership for its strong support of his programs and leadership. James McGinnis, of Van Nuys, was subsequently elected to the presidency.

Among those who addressed the convention were State Assemblyman Phillip E. Burton of San Francisco, chairman of the Assembly Social Welfare Committee; Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, sponsor of the "Right to Organize" bill in the 1961 state legislature; John Nagle, chief of the Washington office of the National Federation of the Blind; California State Senator Hugo Fisher, and Percy H. Steele, Executive Director of the San Diego Urban League and member of the State Social Welfare Board (whose address is reprinted elsewhere in this issue).

Charters were presented at the convention to the presidents of two new affiliates: the West Contra Costa Club of the Blind, Richmond, and the East Contra Costa Chapter of the California Council.

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Nevada Elects Officers. Mrs. Audrey Bascom was re-elected president of the Nevada Federation of the Blind at its sixth annual convention held in mid-October at Las Vegas. Other officers and board members chosen were:

first vice-president, K. O. Knudson; second vice-president, Catherine Callahan; secretary, Gus Raepsaet; treasurer, James Ellis; chaplain, Julia Davis; directors, Dorothy Bowring, Catherine Callahan, Andy Anderson, and Louise Long.

Guest speaker at the convention's banquet was Dr. Jacobus tenBroek, president of the American Brotherhood for the Blind and recently resigned head of the National Federation of the Blind, who also joined in active convention discussions of legislative goals and the problems of disability. Other speakers included John Nagle, the NFB's Washington chief; John Ruiz, Chief of Nevada Services to the Blind, and Mrs. Florence Beebee, a public school superintendent of special education programs.

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Colorado Federation Meets. The seventh annual convention of the Colorado Federation of the Blind took place November 4 in Denver, with a busy schedule of events, including election of new officers. Those chosen to lead Colorado's affiliate of the National Federation of the Blind were: president, Clifford E. Jensen, Denver; first vice president, Sam Matzner, Colorado Springs; second vice president, Henry Taylor, Denver; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Marie Jensen, Denver; recording secretary, Mrs. Alta Haverty, Kremmling; treasurer, Mrs. Georgia Cox, Denver; board members, Ray McGeorge, Denver, Mike Murin, Denver, and George Newell, Colorado Springs. Cliff Jensen was elected as delegate to the 1962 NFB convention, with Mrs. Ethyl Mahaney, also of Denver, as alternate.

Convention activities included a panel discussion on employment of the blind, participated in by Miss Leota Pekrul, personnel officer of the University of Colorado Medical Center (which employs a large number of blind persons in various capacities); R. C. Anderson, executive vice president of the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Charles Ritter, Chief of Colorado Rehabilitation Services, and Raymond McGeorge, blind machinist and president of the Denver Area Association of the Blind. Chief speaker at the evening banquet was Robert Keating, president of the Denver City Council. In other convention action the Colorado Federationists voted a contribution of \$50 to aid in publication of THE BLIND AMERICAN.

ADVANCE REPORT ON THE NFB CONVENTION

By Stanley Oliver

(Editor's note: Mr. Oliver is editor of THE EYE OPENER, published by the Michigan Council of the Blind. The Council, a state affiliate of the National Federation of the Blind, will be host for the 1962 national convention to be held in Detroit.)

The Detroit Statler Hilton hotel is the site of the forthcoming National Federation convention. Convention days will be July 4th through the 7th - Tuesday through Friday. Some 700 rooms have been set aside for delegates, all of them air-conditioned, with complimentary radio and television sets. Room rates have been set exceptionally low for the traditional Statler quality of accommodations. All single rooms are seven dollars; all twin-bed or double-bed rooms ten dollars. In addition, a family or dormitory plan is available accommodating four or more persons in a room at \$3.50 each. Children under 14 will be accommodated in the parents' room without charge. Agreement has also been made covering the accommodation of an extra person in a room with a rollaway bed at the cost of three dollars per night. A further Statler concession is the half-price charge for banquet dinners served to children under 14. The hotel management has gone all-out in the reduction of rates to attract as many family groups as possible.

The hotel staff has been thoroughly indoctrinated in handling guide dogs and large groups of blind people. The AAWB held its national convention here two years ago, with the hotel people listing some twenty points of value in accommodating some hundreds of blind persons over a four-day period. Mr. Hulen C. Walker, executive director of the AAWB, has referred to this hotel as one of the best designed in his experience for blind people to get around in. The banquet, ballroom, smaller meeting rooms, display rooms, the hospitality room and the hotel-managed Studio Bar are all conveniently located on the ballroom level.

The Tuller Hotel, directly across the street, has set aside a sizable number of single and twin-bed or double-bed rooms for use by our convention at five dollars and eight dollars per night.

There are a number of other hotels within ten minutes walk, including the YMCA and the YWCA. The Statler is located within a fifty-cent cab ride from the Greyhound terminal. The railroad terminals are a little farther off. The Greyhound bus service from the Metropolitan Airport is excellent and delivers passengers directly to the Statler in a forty-minute trip. When making hotel reservations, please be sure to state that you are attending the NFB convention in order to receive our special low room rates. These same low rates apply should you arrive a few days early or stay on a few extra days. Do not fail to send a carbon of your hotel reservation to Mrs. Bertha Cothery, 1201 Colton, Detroit 3, Michigan. Mrs. Cothery is in charge of registrations for the convention.

The recreation program in connection with our gathering promises to be an exciting series under the direction of Harry Hunter, former national president of the Blind Golfers Association. Harry just now is trying to decide between trips to Canada across the Detroit River, visiting a new C.N.I.B. headquarters, and a visit to Ford's Greenfield Village, a world-famous museum of Americana. In prospect for those arriving a day early with their children is an outing to Edgewater Amusement Park, with all rides and concessions free. This latter event has been enormously popular with many hundreds of blind folk and their progeny here for years. Harry also hints at a "quickie" bowling competition with some worthwhile prizes, to be sneaked in during off-time from the convention for the rabid keggers.

Your convention committee is looking forward to making your Detroit visit a most enjoyable and memorable one. Send in your reservations early, with a carbon to Mrs. Cothery, 1201 Colton, Detroit 3, Michigan.

RECORDINGS FOR THE BLIND

For the past ten years an organization known as Recordings for the Blind, Inc., has been transcribing textbooks onto disks in virtually every language without charge to blind students -- with the help of such famous readers as Robert Montgomery, Walter Cronkite, Cornelia Otis Skinner, and Ed Bagley.

The RFB was inaugurated in 1951 as a means of assisting blinded veterans of the Korean War to finish college. One such veteran, E. Bastion, who lost his sight when his F-80 jet fighter plane crashed in flames on takeoff from Fairbanks, Alaska, began ordering books from the fledgling organization. With its help he was graduated with honors from the University of Southern California law school after completing four years in the university's school of commerce, according to an RFB spokesman.

Although 2,000 people each year offer their services as volunteer readers, over half are rejected after testing. Even professional actors may not qualify, since the intensity of their presentation often distracts from the subject matter. For the same reason, the RFB points out, the author of a book may be the least desirable reader of his own work. The reader's voice must compensate for the common dullness of textbooks materials and keep the student alert, willing to listen further. Following a period of training, the volunteer reader finds himself devoting days or weeks, or often months, to the tape-recording of a text.

During 1960 alone, some 9,000 books were ordered from the RFB by two thousand blind persons of all ages. Among the titles recorded for specific individuals were: "New Hope for Arthritic Sufferers," "General Principles of Criminal Law," "Readings in Russian History," books on dairy cattle breeding, Greek literature, biochemistry and thermodynamics, educational psychology and world geography. Not only college students but blind students in public school from the third grade up may request books from RFB, along with adults engaged in self-improvement projects or learning useful skills. Among established clients of the agency are a 26-year-old New York University student who has been using RFB texts since 1951, and a 20-year-old Eskimo boy who is working simultaneously toward his high school diploma and a college degree.

BROTHERS . . . & OTHERS

First Rehab-Research-Training Center. Establishment of the nation's first rehabilitation-research-training center was announced in mid-October by Mary E. Switzer, Director of the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. In revealing the half-million dollar annual grant to New York University's Institute of Physical Medicine

and Rehabilitation, the OVR Director said that a \$390,000 installment already has been granted for the current academic year.

Facilities of the Institute, under the direction of Dr. Howard A. Rusk, will be used for research in rehabilitation as well as for training of professional rehabilitation workers in a clinical setting. A limited number of similar centers will eventually be established at universities whose medical schools possess comprehensive teaching and research programs as resources for research in other phases of rehabilitation and for training workers in various disciplines, including medicine.

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Iowa Teacher Honored. Max Whitlock, a former student at the Iowa Braille and Sight Saving School in Vinton, was recently chosen Iowa's Rural Teacher for 1961, according to a news item in the Cedar Valley (Iowa) TIMES. Whitlock has been a teacher of instrumental music in the elementary and high schools of his community for the past seven years. His teaching career began sixteen years ago following graduation from Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa. He has also taken graduate work in the music field at Drake University in Des Moines.

Whitlock was nominated for the annual award, sponsored by a farm magazine, by the "Music Boosters" club of Jewell, Iowa, and supported by letters from students both present and past, his coworkers and community leaders. The award was established to give recognition to outstanding work by teachers in the rural areas of the state. Whitlock received a U.S. savings bond, and both he and his school were presented with special plaques, the newspaper reported.

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Guide to Sheltered Work programs. "Operational Techniques for Sheltered Work Programs -- a Guide for Planning and Management," is the title of a two-part article by Miss N. P. Smith published in the August and September (1961) issue of REHABILITATION LITERATURE, journal of the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Inc., 2023 W. Ogden Ave., Chicago 12, Illinois. Single copies of the issue are available without charge from the publisher.

"For our purpose," Miss Smith writes, "sheltered work program will be assumed to mean a voluntary organization conducted not for profit but to provide a rehabilitation service for the physically, psychologically, or socially handicapped person by employing him in the manufacture of salable products." Her article covers such phases of management as contract procurement, organizing the physical plant, production control, constructive supervision, setting up the job, and meeting contract commitments.

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New L.A. Information Center for Blind. A new Information Center for the Blind opened in Los Angeles in mid-November under sponsorship of the Junior League of that city. Located at Gate 12, Farmer's Market, 6333 West Third Street, the Los Angeles center is designed to "record, refer, disseminate information about community services; health and welfare; recreation; educational programs, residences; volunteer opportunities, general information." Services of the center are said to be available to blind persons by telephone (Webster 1-4400) or by mail.

Describing the background of the new project, a Junior League pamphlet states that trained volunteer workers with the organization have participated since 1934 in the following activities: "offering courses of instruction in Braille; maintaining a corps of transcribers doing hand-embossed material, both for schools and individuals; operating a motor corps; providing a recreational program for blind veterans; supporting a craft group working both with state teachers for the blind and with integrated public schools. Members of this group of volunteers established and operated for five years the Los Angeles unit of Recording for the Blind, Inc., and they continue to offer a recording service."

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Wes Osborne Heads Parliamentarians. Wes Osborne, well-known blind federationist of Washington State, was the subject of a recent feature article in the TACOMA NEWS-TRIBUNE in recognition of his latest achievement. Excerpts from the article follow:

"Wesley Osborne is totally blind. But he's not in the dark when it comes to motions, amendments, amendments to the amendments, and parliamentary procedure in general. The 60-year-old Osborne took over the president's gavel [last summer] for Tacoma's Blanche Wilkinson Unit of the National Association of Parliamentarians.

In fact, so far as he knows, he's the first president of a parliamentary unit who is blind. Osborne doesn't think he'll have much trouble conducting meetings. 'After all,' he said, 'the secretary can see, and she can recognize everyone. It's the thinking, not the seeing, that mostly counts.' . . .

"Osborne, who wears green-tinted glasses, mastered Roberts Rules of Order in Braille -- a job involving 500 double-sided pages in three volumes. . . .

"Legally blind since 1937 and totally blind since 1957, Osborne started studying parliamentary procedure in 1955 under A. L. Struthers, a Tacoma registered parliamentarian. Struthers conducted a class for 11 blind persons. . . .

"Osborne has been state chairman of legislation for the blind since 1957. And he credits much of the success he's had as lobbyist to his knowledge of parliamentary procedure. 'It helps you understand what the legislature is doing . . . and when to amend a bill you don't like if you can't stop it from getting out on the floor.'

"He credited the 1961 [state] legislature, by the way, with enacting all the legislation the blind requested. Osborne made 52 trips to Olympia while the last legislature was in session."

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Glaucoma Detection Program. A concerted statewide educational program to enable early detection of glaucoma has been underway in New Jersey Medical Society and the State Commission for the Blind. Clinics making available free public eye examinations during the last week of September are presented annually in conjunction with National Sight Conservation Month under the State Commission's Glaucoma Detection Program -- reportedly the first to be established in the United States. During past years between 4,000 and 5,000 persons annually have taken advantage of the eye health screening tests, according to a report in AGING, a publication of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The report states that

approximately 300 persons are referred each year, following eye examinations, to the New Jersey Commission's Eye Health Service, which has a staff of public health nurses and a traveling eye examination unit among its year-round services.

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New Data on Cataract and Glaucoma. "Cataract and Glaucoma -- Hope through Research" (Public Health Service Publication No. 793) is an illustrated pamphlet which describes the differences between cataract and glaucoma, presents factual data and research material about each, and specifies "where you can find help." The publication has been prepared by the National Institute of Health's subordinate National Institute of Neurological diseases and Blindness, and is obtainable free in single copies from the Office of Information at NINDH, NIH, Bethesda 14. Maryland. Copies are also available at 15¢ apiece from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C.

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Leaders in Work for Blind Meet. The National Association of Instructors of the Blind was host recently to a meeting of leaders in work for the blind to deal with problems arising from the unmet educational needs of blind children. Present were representatives of the National Federation of the Blind, American Foundation for the Blind, American Association of Workers for the Blind, National Rehabilitation Association, American Printing House for the Blind, and Council for Exceptional Children. The representatives voted as a group to recommend to their respective organizations support for general federal assistance for training teachers of physically impaired children and assistance to the states in improving educational offerings for handicapped children. The group also voted to request the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to make a study of alternatives to replace the present per-capita method of distributing educational materials to the blind.

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In Their Own Image. The following thoughtful item is reprinted from the November, 1961, issue of THE PALMETTO AURORAN, Voice of South Carolina Aurora Club of the Blind, Inc.:

"Included in Webster's definition of 'image' are the following: A conception, idea, symbol, representation. There are all types of images. We hear much about the image of America abroad. While the American image is of vital concern to all of us, we are similarly concerned with the image of blindness. Those of us who are blind know firsthand the misconceptions held by so many of Mr. and Mrs. U.S.A. We know the embarrassment of being literally lifted onto a bus rather than being merely assisted. We know the irritation of our escort being asked whether or not we will have sugar and cream in our coffee, as if we didn't know how we like our own coffee. We know firsthand the unrealistic misconception that blind people are gifted in mysterious ways - whereas in fact the blind are only a cross-section of the population, varying as do the sighted with respect to capabilities. We know firsthand the absolute frustration brought about by the feeling of so many employers that blind people should have custodial care but must not be expected to compete for employment with the sighted. A classic example of a local misconception here in Columbia is the frequent reference to the association of the blind as the home for the blind, despite the efforts of its leaders to clarify this many times in the past. . . .

"When we stop and analyze the true image of blindness we cannot help feeling that the blind themselves are not blameless. Many of us cater to solicitude. Some of us do not quickly enough reject the misconception that we are gifted in mysterious ways such as having photographic memories, rather than explaining that we are average individuals without physical sight. Too many blind persons do not take individual initiative in seeking employment by making direct contact themselves with prospective employers... We all know that it is unfortunate and unfair that the sighted public too often judges all the blind by the conduct, attitude and appearance of perhaps one blind individual. We, of course, refer to this as generalizing rather than individualizing, but more important we believe is for us to strive to display the conduct, the attitude, and the appearance that will speak well for all the blind. . . .

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Braille Music Books Revised. A standard Braille music guide and three aids to its study are now available from the American Printing House for the Blind in revised editions (1960). The books are: The Revised International Manual of Braille Music, compiled by Edward W. Jenkins of

Perkins Institution, and Lessons in Braille Music, compiled by H. V. Spanner. Prices for the braille editions are \$12.00, \$1.25 and \$5.00 respectively. Inkprint editions are presently available only for the Primer and Music Chart, at \$3.00 and \$2.00 respectively. Requests should be addressed to the Printing House at 1839 Frankfort Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.

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World-Wide Rehab. A little-known aspect of the manifold services made available under the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is the recently developed international research and demonstration program. Projects carried on under this program are financed by "counterpart" funds -- that is, currencies of other countries received by the U.S. through the sale of surplus agricultural commodities. The funds provided by the nations purchasing these commodities cannot be spent outside their borders. Among the new rehabilitation facilities made possible by this joint international effort is the Mexican Institute for Rehabilitation opened 18 months ago in Mexico City. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, last year the first two-year training program with prosthetics graduated its first class from the Institute of Rehabilitation of the Sao Paulo University. And in Beirut, Lebanon, the American University has reportedly begun an amputee rehabilitation program designed as the first of several such programs slated for countries in the Middle East.

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New Braille Writer Offered. The Royal National Institute for the Blind, in London, announces the development of a new braille writer which is expected to be available for purchase next summer. The machine is said to be of all-metal construction, designed so that the braille dots appear on the upper surface of the paper, enabling the braille to be read as soon as written. There are six keys and a space bar, the latter being placed centrally between keys numbered, from the space bar outward, 1-2-3 on the left and 4-5-6 on the right. The keys and the paper remain stationary when writing and the paper is kept flat, according to the RNIB. The machine, which is called the Pyke Brailleur, reportedly provides for both interlining and interpointing, the change-over from one system to the other being effected by means of a lever.

The paper is fed from line to line by a system of rollers, thus obviating the need for paper clamps. A safety device is provided to prevent the paper being fed through unless it is correctly aligned, and it also enables the paper to be accurately re-inserted for correcting purposes, the British agency states.

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Nevada Blind Sponsor Litterbag Program. The Nevada Highway Patrol, the Department of Motor Vehicles, and the State Sheriffs Association are cooperating with the organized blind of Nevada in a unique program of litterbag sales to motorists on the state's highways. Combining safety and esthetic values, the business project was initiated by the Nevada Federation of the Blind last July and has since placed a reported 5,000 litterbags in autos throughout the state, according to Ray Baldwin, chairman of the Federation's campaign. In recognition of official cooperation received, the Nevada blind group recently presented sculptured profile plaques to two state officials of the Department of Motor Vehicles. The bags are sold at hotels, motels, service stations and other business catering to motorists.







